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THE STANDARD.

GERRIT SMITH TO GEORGE THOMPSON.

ENGLAND NEEDS TO SOOTHE AMERICA.

PETERBORO, January 25th, 1862.

HON. GEORGE THOMPSON, *Ex-Mem. British Parliament—My Dear Sir:* I have read your recent speeches on "American Slavery and the Present Crisis." Not to speak of their other merits, they show great knowledge of American affairs and treat of them very temperately and judiciously.

It was well that you employed your rich and commanding eloquence to prevent England from making war upon America. I hope you will now employ it to prevent America from making war upon England. You need not come here for this purpose. Stay where you are; and labor with others to bring your government and people to such a sense and expression of their deep wrong against mine, as shall serve to take from the American heart the hatred of England which rankles in it. I refer, in this wrong, to nothing else than what has grown out of the Trent matter; for nothing else has made up any part of it. It is true that here and there was a sore displeasure with England for her sympathy with our rebels. But this sympathy might not have been so general as to make England responsible for it. Or it might have been more seeming than real. Or if it was indeed real, nevertheless it was not an offence of the grade or character to get angry with.

I have impliedly predicted that America will declare war against England unless England shall prevent it. I scarcely need say that this prediction comes not of my wishes. I love England more than I love any other nation save my own. I cannot help the preference. A common lineage, language and literature are sufficient to account for it. Her heroes, scholars, philosophers, poets and philanthropists I feel to be my own. And whilst many say that her oppression of Ireland and her forcing of opium on the Chinese are just worthy of her, I view them to be unworthy of her. The emancipation of her slaves—that was an act worthy of her greatness and glory. I said that I love her. I add that my countrymen loved her. The tears they shed for her when she was struggling with her horrid East India Rebellion were sincere. The welcome they gave her young Prince for his own sake, for his good mother's sake, and for dear old England's sake also, was unaffected and cordial. Moreover, I am opposed to war; and by war I mean the bloody collision of nation with nation. Every such collision I hold to be unnecessary and wrong, both on one side and the other. In no case may a nation declare war; and she may safely conclude that the moral power of her calm but unyielding refusal to arm herself against a declaration of war will protect her from it. Again, should it turn out that there are nations so low in civilization and so insensible to restraining and reclaiming influences as to ignore or break through this power and fall upon her, nevertheless there would be far more and far mightier nations to come to her rescue. These would not only honor her for her peace principles, but they would be prompt to resist every mean and guilty attempt to take advantage of them. Our poor war-cursed world waits for a nation to take this attitude. The nation so trustful in truth as to take it will find it not less safe than sublime, and will be followed in quick succession by her sister nations.

That I should be opposed to war and yet be in sympathy with our large Northern armies may possibly be an inconsistency. Believing, however, as I have ever done, in the duty of government to control its subjects, I am conscious of no inconsistency between my opposition to war and my sympathy with armies, however large, if their sole object is the quelling of domestic insurrections. If Russia would be willing to save unarmed France from armed England, it by no means follows that she would on the same or on any principle be willing to employ her forces in subduing a French rebellion. France must take care of her own rebels. Every nation must, like every family, govern itself. The nation or family which cannot, had better be broken up.

That whilst my loyal countrymen have, with scarce an exception, a stinging sense of this wrong done by England to America, there is but a comparative handful of them unqualifiedly opposed to war, fully justifies my strong fear that America will make war upon England.

Is it strange that they should have this stinging sense? To be men they must have it. The Trent had made herself, both in deed and spirit, part and parcel of the great American conspiracy. "The owner and agent and all her officers, including the Commander Williams, had knowledge of the assumed characters and purposes"* of the traitors whom she had taken on board. She was doing what she could to help on their mission of death to their country. And all this was in the face of the Queen's Proclamation, and in the face, too, of the punishment which the English government had inflicted for the like offence when we were at war with Mexico. The San Jacinto overtook the Trent, and, out of kindness to her passengers, to English subjects and English interests, let her pass on after having taken the four traitors from her. England, on getting the news, did not punish the Trent, but declared war against America. Her first and immediate measure was actual war. Troops and arms were hurried off to our coast. Instantly men were put in motion to kill us. We were not to learn her spirit from the tone of her diplomatic correspondence on the occasion, but from her military movements. "Actions speak louder than words." If a man takes off his coat and comes toward me with rolled-up sleeves and clenched fists, I shall not be comforted by his words, however far less threatening they may be. I shall still believe that he will whip me if he can. England proposed no umpirage; invited no explanation; would not even wait to learn whether our government approved the conduct of the San Jacinto. But with cannon loaded and matches lighted she stood demanding instant compliance with her peremptory terms. She did, indeed, wait to hear from us. But it was only that she might then decide whether to *stop* war. She had already *made* war.

This was oppression indeed; and it was very hard to bear. Nevertheless, not so hard as the insult she combined with it. We knew, and we knew that she knew, that had such rebels gone out from her to compass her destruction, she would, without any delay or hazard by forms and ceremonies, have caught them wherever she could and hung them. How keenly insulting to us was her arrogant position that our national dignity is not entitled to such prompt vindication as hers, and that our national safety falls immeasurably below her own in value and sacredness! She had neither forgotten nor regretted that she had taken thousands of entirely innocent men from our ships. What contempt then did she pour upon us when she virtually told us that she is so infinitely our superior, that we must not take from her ships so much as four men!—no, and not even if they are very guilty men! No doubt this is in her eye a fitting attitude for a nation of centuries of fame toward upstart America.

But I pass on to speak of our circumstances at the time England declared war against us. Would that she had been moved by them to pity us, instead of being tempted by them to oppress us? We were struggling under a rebellion the mightiest ever known—and the wickedest ever known. It was very wicked because entirely unprovoked. Nay, whilst we had never encroached upon the rights of the rebels, we had but seldom resisted their multiplied encroachments upon ours. Much more wicked, however, was the rebellion because it was a pro-slavery one. Facts prove that it was a purely pro-slavery one. Not a single free State was drawn into it. Eleven of the slave States rushed into it; and the remaining four would have followed had they not been restrained by the fear of Federal troops. The different sections in them all sympathize with the rebellion just in proportion to their respective interest in slavery. Relieve Kentucky, Missouri and Maryland of the presence of Federal troops, and they would instantly join the rebellion. There are nominal slaveholders who care little or nothing for slavery. But in all the land, North or South, there is not one man of the slaveholding spirit, who does not prefer the rebellion with slavery to the Union without slavery. But enough to prove the pro-slavery character of the rebellion is the intensely pro-slavery character of the government which the rebels organized—though it may be well to add that nothing less satanic than the spirit of slavery could have been sufficient to prompt men to so satanic a rebellion. How preposterous for the rebels to say, as they do for the purpose of winning Europe to their side, that our high Tariff was unendurable! It was not high when the rebellion broke out; and the rebels had but to insist on its being lower to make it lower. Our high Tariff is a war measure. It may be made much higher, and yet be no indication that a high Tariff would, as a mere commercial measure, be approved by us.

But it was not alone nor mainly from the magnitude and wickedness of the rebellion that we were entitled to the world's pity. Much more were we entitled to it from the state of moral helplessness in which the rebellion found us. That slavery had now burst upon us in its vast power did indeed make our case very pitiable. But far more pitiable was it from the fact that slavery had so long deluded and debauched us, as to leave us incapable of arousing ourselves to resist this vast power. Great strength had we still to resist any other enemy. But in the presence of slavery we were only poor paralytics. Far worse our condition than that of Laocoon. His soul was strong in his battle with the snake. But our snake had charmed our soul into powerlessness before the battle had begun. Very monstrous would it have been to come to the help of the snake entwined around Laocoon. But still more monstrous is it to come to the help of the snake entwined around America. Nevertheless, England does come to its help. Does she say that we are too debased to be pitied? I admit the debasement, the even brutish insensibility to human rights which the Circean cup of slavery has reduced us to. Nevertheless, were we as unhappily transformed as the companions of Ulysses, pity should still reach down to us. Beside, since it is slavery that has so degraded us, and since it is England that fastened it upon us, especially ill does it become her to taunt us with our degradation, and take advantage of it. Does she bid us follow her example and abolish slavery? It was comparatively easy to abolish a slavery no more essentially connected with herself. But by a slavery mixed up with all her relations and interests, and with all herself she would have been made as helpless as we are.

I need not go into arguments to prove our impotence against slavery. A few illustrations of it will suffice.

1. Slavery is killing us. One word from our government would kill it. Nevertheless, this one word cannot be spoken. Our poor slavery-ridden government cannot muster moral courage enough to speak it. That, at such a time as this, it should be studying and worshipping the Constitution shows its utter incompetence to save us. The rebels flung away the Constitution at the very outset. They are too much in earnest to let papers trammel their efforts to destroy us. But we, alas, are so drugged and drunken by slavery as to feel no right to meet these efforts save in ways strictly harmonious with every line of the Constitution, or (to express but the same meaning in other words) strictly harmonious with the pro-slavery interpretations of the Constitution. Why is it that we do not worship our State Constitutions as well as the Federal Constitution? Every few years we cast them aside. The reason is that slavery does not call for the worship of them. Our President is bound hand and foot by that pro-slavery regard for the Constitution in which he was educated. So, too, are most of our Generals. Gen. Sherman's proclamation, on entering South Carolina, says: "Carolinians, we have come as loyal men, fully impressed with our *constitutional* obligations to the citizens of your State." Surely, we are under no more *constitutional* obligations to them than we are to Arabs. In every part of the North you meet with this insanity about our *constitutional* obligations to the rebels. Congress abounds in it. What better, however, could you expect of a body that now, when the nation is on the very brink of ruin, and nothing should be thought of but conquering the foe, by whatever means, constitutional or unconstitutional, and by whatever men, white, red or black, is amusing itself with schemes of colonization! The remaining weeks, in which Congress can do what may possibly save the nation, are probably but few. How sad that any of them should be thus wasted!

2. Although our nation should, on the breaking out of the rebellion, have abolished slavery, to prevent slavery from abolishing it—doing so under that high necessity which supersedes all inquiry into the constitutionality of doing so—nevertheless (if shrinking from this summary and sweeping measure), it might have put down the rebellion without resorting to any direct action, or, indeed, any intended action against slavery. If, instead of making slavery its special, nay, its supreme care, it had used its obvious and unrestricted constitutional liberty in composing its armies, and in carrying on the war, the rebellion would have been suppressed in less than six months from the bombarding of Sumter. All must admit that the Constitution gives Congress the power to make up its armies as it will—of foreigners or citizens, of black men or white; and that it is under no more constitutional obligation to inquire whether the men who offer themselves for enlistment are slaves, than whether they are appprentices or hirelings. In the exercise of this power Congress could, both easily and speedily have saved the nation. It is true that, incidental to this exercise, might have been the destruction of slavery. But Congress would have been no more responsible for the destruction than the Constitution would have been violated by the exercise. Had only the black population of the land been assured last spring that the North was its friend, the end if not indeed the beginning of autumn would have witnessed the end of the rebellion. And this it would have been assured of had there been so much as one black regiment among the seventy-five thousand soldiers whom our President called for last spring. Not one gun would that regiment have needed to fire, and no occasion would there have been for another black regiment. The bare fact of its existence would have effectually and almost instantly advertised all the blacks of our good-will, and to advertise them of that would have been sufficient to secure their deep and decisive sympathy. But, alas, the advertisement was forbidden! And, instead of it, we have advertised them of our ill-will, by sending back, cruelly and wickedly, and also unconstitutionally, great numbers of fugitive slaves.

Such, my dear sir, was the miserable condition of my poor slavery-crazed and slavery-cowed country when yours declared war against her. I said that it was keenly insulting in your nation to deny to Americans, in the case of American rebels, the liberty which England claims in the case of English rebels. Keen, indeed, was this insult; and very cruel and mean was the oppression of falling upon us in our helpless condition. For this insult and oppression England will soon have to answer, unless there shall be good feeling on her part to beget good feeling on ours. Very bad is our feeling toward her now—and even toward Canada. Already are we threatening (very foolishly, I own) to terminate that new and mutually useful intercourse with Canada which should be enlarged and unending. Canada and the States should be brothers as well as neighbors.

Vain is the attempt to pacify us by saying that the Trent case has been settled on our own principles. It was not pleasant to have it settled even on our own principles, if we were *compelled* to have it so settled. Moreover, the compulsion is greatly aggravated by the fact that you would not have resorted to it, nor we yielded to it, had not our helpless condition emboldened you to the one and reduced us to the necessity of the other. But it is not true that the case has been settled on our own principles. I admit that it is American to settle questions with slaveholders whilst their rod is over our head. But I deny that it is American to settle them in such circumstances with foreign powers. All vain is this attempt to hide in an affectation of high-souled regard for national consistency, and in a sublime show of magnanimous adherence to precedents, our blazing disgrace in the Trent case. The truth is, that the having of maritime *principles* is an honor which does not belong to America. Her opposition, in her infancy, to taking seamen from her ships, was on the ground of their being innocent men. But now she opposes the taking from them of even the preëminently guilty—of even slave-traders! Our maritime principles are but our maritime policy; and this has varied with our interests.

Mr. Sumner's admired speech on the Trent case is characterized with his usual learning and eloquence, but not with his usual soundness. 1. Most of the authorities he cites are far too old to express or be applicable to our present policy. 2. They do not apply to the Trent case—for the subject matter in that is the proper disposition not of innocent but of guilty persons. They are plainly but to the point of taking innocent seamen from our ships. And most of his remaining authorities were doubtless intended to be but to the same point. He thinks that they were also to the point of taking ambassadors from neutral ships. The strong probability, however, is that immunity but for seamen was intended by these authorities, although the literal import of their words provides immunity for ambassadors as well as for seamen. Moreover, if these authorities do really as well as literally cover ambassadors, they nevertheless do not meet the present case. We must not confound with the ordinary ambassador, whose honorable and sacred office it is to maintain a good understanding and friendly intercourse between nations, the execrable traitor who goes out from his country for help to destroy it. The ambassador represents a nation. Mason and Slidell but a horde of rebels. For, as yet, that horde is acknowledged by itself only to be a nation. It by no means follows, if there *can* be an argument of some force for allowing the ambassador to pass on, that guilty emissaries, like Mason and Slidell, should also be allowed to pass on. But even Vattel, who says that the person of the ambassador is "sacred and inviolable," does not claim for him this exemption. He holds: "not only may we justly refuse a passage to the ministers whom our enemy sends to other sovereigns, we may arrest them if they attempt to pass privately," etc. Although he had in his mind but a passage by land, the principle applies equally to a passage by sea. But if, upon Vattel's authority, the ambassador may be taken from the neutral ship, how much more the Masons and Slidells! Sir William Scott, the highest British authority on maritime law, says: "The belligerent may stop the ambassador of the enemy on his passage." How much more, then, may he stop the Masons and Slidells!

I confess that there can be an argument of some force against molesting the ordinary ambassador. Were England and America at war with each other, neither would be disposed to molest the ambassador of the other to Austria. The present case respects not the ordinary ambassador, in whose protection and freedom the welfare of the world may be said to be interested. It respects emissaries who are more effectively as well as more guiltily identified with a superlatively wicked rebellion than are the soldiers in its armies. Who does not see that a pair of such emissaries, with their dispatches, may be more important to the rebellion than a dozen shiploads of soldiers? The whole spirit and sense of the law or principle which authorizes the taking of soldiers out of the neutral ship, authorizes with the utmost emphasis the taking out of such emissaries also. Perhaps only one of all Mr. Sumner's numerous authorities is applicable in both letter and spirit to the taking of Mason and Slidell. I say in *spirit;* for who doubts that Gen. Cass, who would spare even the slave-trader, would feel himself bound in consistency to spare every other criminal? I can but wonder at Mr. Sumner's temerity in quoting the General. I should sooner have expected him to exclaim: "*non tali auxilio!*" I admit if Gen. Cass, the preëminent patron of the slave trade, is to be taken as representing American principles, that then the Trent case has been settled on American principles. Surely the General, by proving too much for Mr. Sumner, proves nothing for him. Mr. Sumner has but weakened his argument by quoting him.

So far as my reading and memory serve me, you can find nothing in the whole field of American authorities in favor of waiving the right of search in the case of any criminals save slave-traders. And is not Mr. Sumner very inconsistent with himself? In his speech he maintains the right of search with respect to slave-traders. Why then should he not maintain it with respect to those "*hostes humani generis,*" who were caught in performing a very essential part of the work of building up the most abominable slave-trading empire which the world has ever known! African slave-traders are doing upon a comparatively petty scale what Mason and Slidell are laboring to have done on a scale as broad as the whole earth. To be consistent Mr. Sumner cannot escape from letting African slave-traders as well as Mason and Slidell pass on.

The current of American authorities is no more with Mr. Seward's point of taking the ship into port than with Mr. Sumner's point of taking persons from it. For the question with the great mass of those authorities was not whether the ship should be taken, but whether seamen should be taken from it. Mr. Seward argues that it was American to let Mason and Slidell go. Had old John Brown after his demonstration in Virginia been caught in a neutral ship, would Mr. Seward have argued that it was American to let him go? Oh no! He did argue that it was right to hang him: and he would have argued that it was right to hold him. Poor old John Brown was the enemy of SLAVERY and the friend of but his country. The noble Mason and Slidell were the friends of SLAVERY and the enemies of but their country. And this, on American principles, makes a wide difference against the one and for the others.

I said that the Trent case has not been settled on American principles. I add that it has not been settled on any principles. It has not been settled at all. Even what the case was, was not agreed upon by the parties: nor a step taken nor a proposition made to agree upon it. We have no right to say that England's acceptance of Secretary Seward's conclusion will bind her not to take her rebels from our ships. For the case he presents is not the case described in Earl Russell's letter to his Lord Lyons. The Earl speaks not of guilty emissaries and traitors, but of "certain individuals" and "four gentlemen"; and surely "individuals" and "gentlemen" include many whom it would with one consent be clearly wrong to force from a ship. In our haste to reach a propitiating conclusion and save ourselves from British guns we made little account of premises.

That the European nations, as well those who have as those who have not many ships, should be just now so much concerned for the rights of neutrals is not strange—for just now they are themselves neutrals. Were they belligerents they would speak in a different tone. But that our statesmen now, whilst America is a belligerent, should be vieing with each other in extravagant concessions to neutrals would be marvelous indeed, were it not that by this means they can hope to make America satisfied with herself instead of ashamed of herself at the way she has got out of the Trent trouble. Some of our statesmen go so far as to propose in respect to the sea the entire abolition of contraband of war. In their absorbing zeal for neutrals they forget that a belligerent has rights, and that in the event of such abolition another belligerent might through neutrals carry on an effective and fatal war against him. They forget too that by whatever principle war might be carried on through neutrals on the sea it might be carried on through neutrals on the land also. Hence when a couple of nations, France and England for instance, should get to war with each other, they would have recruiting stations in other nations as well as in their own, and thus draw the world into their war. Hence too the Lopezes and Walkers and other filibusters would never lack for recruits to carry out their schemes.

England is now favoring the doctrine that the neutral ship shall be exempt from search provided, she is going neither to nor from the port of a belligerent. But this is an absurd doctrine. Surely the question whether a neutral ship may serve a belligerent cannot be affected by the question whether the ship leaves our coast one rod North or one rod South of our boundary; nor by the question whether it reaches our coast a little one side or the other of that boundary. The ship may serve him quite as effectually in the one case as in the other.

Horace Greeley, whose writings are always well worth reading, would let the neutral ship go free provided she has not gone out of her way to serve the belligerent. But reason forbids that she should knowingly serve him either in or out of her way. Mr. Greeley holds the Trent to have been innocent because she did not go out of her way to facilitate the guilty mission of Slidell and Mason. Was she innocent provided they gave her $10,000? And is it at all improbable that they paid her a large indemnity for her risk in taking them? She did not need go out of her way to help the rebellion. In no other way so well as in what Mr. Greeley calls "her usual and lawful voyage" could she help it.

And why, I ask, should the sea police be less searching and strict than the land police? Because England has taken thousands of innocent persons from neutral ships does it follow that the world is to relinquish the right to take guilty ones from them? I much question whether the relinquishment can be afforded. The right has been abused: and though new and efficient securities against its abuse might not always prove sufficient, nevertheless let not the right, no, nor its summary exercise, be abandoned. By suitable regulations the amount of wrongs and losses attending this summary exercise could be made small compared with that attending the turning off of suspected vessels from their voyages into ports for trial—some of them having no contraband of war, and others, though having it, yet not knowing it. I hardly need add that these suitable regulations would ignore all claims to men on the ground of their being born here or there. Claims against the right of a man to expatriate himself and choose his country should not have been made after the dark ages.

I said that the Trent case has not been settled at all. I of course meant that it had not been in any such way as deserves the name of settlement. But allowing our surrender to be a settlement—our *ex-parte* or *quasi* settlement to be a real one—nevertheless we ought not to hide it from ourselves, nor make ourselves ridiculous by trying to hide it from the world, that the settlement, so far from taking place on American principles, was simply our compelled submission to England's principle of refusing to confess her own abounding sin; of construing her neighbor's innocence into sin; and of straightway following up the hypocritical construction with violence. She knew that the liberty we had taken with a few ineffably guilty men on board her ship was no greater than that she had taken with thousands of innocent men on board of ours. She knew that we had not insulted her. She knew that our Captain was, so far as England and Englishmen were concerned, prompted by no other spirit than that of high respect and remarkable kindness. She knew, too, that she was insulting and outraging us by declaring war against us. Such, such was the principle to which we succumbed and on which we were forced to make our peace with England. Oh call it not an American principle! It was purely an English one.

What a pity, since the Trent case had to be settled on an English principle, that our government did not propose to settle it on another English principle—on that by virtue of which England prefers taking men out of the vessel to taking the vessel! Our government had no right to assume that England, having reduced this principle to practice in thousands of instances, and never given it up, would, on reflection, so dishonor it and dishonor herself, as angrily to object to the trial of it by another nation. Nay, our government had no right to insult England by such an assumption. But I shall be told that our government would not consent to settle the case save on American principles. Again I say that America has no maritime *principles*. Her conduct in regard to the slave trade makes it exceedingly indecent in her to pretend that she has. Moreover if this case has been settled on American principles, it is solely on her slave trade principles, which forbid foreigners to search for criminals.

How much better it would be if our statesmen, instead of trying to make America believe that she had come out of this Trent matter with flying colors, should frankly confess the contrary! The simple truth is, that our nation had given herself up to the sway of slavery; that the handful of Abolitionists foretold her consequent destruction; that she laughed at them, and kept on in her madness until she was so far destroyed, as to be obliged to accept the humiliation which England disingenuously, meanly, and cruelly forced upon her. By the way, many of our pro-slavery men, instead of repenting, are charging the ruin of their country upon the Abolitionists. But as well might they hold Jesus responsible for the destruction of Jerusalem because he prophesied it. And just here let me say that nothing can be more untrue than the charge that the Abolitionists are seeking to make the abolition of slavery the object of the war. They admit that its one object is the salvation of the country. From this to any other they have never sought to turn the people. It is, however, entirely true, that whilst others would consent to sacrifice the nation in order to save slavery, the Abolitionists would consent to sacrifice slavery in order to save the nation. No other class is so patriotic as the Abolitionists. In every other there are traitors, but none amongst them. Select the soldiers who have the most heart in the war, and you will find them all Abolitionists. Select those who have the least, or any other men who have the least, and you will find nearly all to be slanderers of the Abolitionists.

But I must draw my long letter to a close. Let not England argue from our insanity and impotence with respect to the rebellion that she has nothing to fear from a war with America. It is true that we cannot face slavery any more than a slave can the whip of his master. Slavery is our master, and we are but trembling slaves in its presence. But it is also true that we are a strong and brave people, and can face anything but slavery: and it is further true that slavery will soon be out of our way, and that we shall then come to be filled with shame and sorrow over our low and long subjection to it. Moreover, we shall then be prepared to call our rulers to a very stern account for letting slavery prolong a rebellion which might have been ended in a few months, and for letting it fill tenfold as many graves, and roll up tenfold as great a burden of taxes as was necessary. Alas, and will there not also be the destruction of our nation for us to call them to account for? Reduced, however, though we shall be to twenty million of people by the success of the rebellion, nevertheless, the element of weakness being eliminated from it, our nation will be far more powerful than it was before.

I assume, as you see, that the rebellion is to be successful. Every portion of my country is very dear to me, and I have done what I could to save it from division. But the only measure by which it can be saved from it its rulers obstinately refuse to adopt. This only measure is the identifying of the five million of negroes with our cause. Victories we shall soon achieve. But they will be no substitute for this measure. They will only make its speedy adoption the more necessary. For their tendency will be to drive the South to identify by an act of emancipation those five million with her own cause. When she shall be hard-driven by these victories, her fears will tell her, and Europe will tell her, to save herself by giving up slavery. Would that we might anticipate her in this measure, and thus save the nation and bless its whole population, North and South, black and white! But from the day the President laid his hand on Fremont's proclamation, I have seen but little prospect of this good. Nay, when of late I have seen how smitten with blindness are our rulers, in both Church and State, and how few are the signs of repentance in either, I have strongly feared that it is too late to save our poor perishing nation—that no amount of human power, pervaded though it might be with the greatest human goodness, and controlled, withal, by the highest human wisdom, could save it. From the first, I have had not the least doubt that the bombarding of Sumter was the killing of slavery. But now I tremble with the apprehension that ETERNAL JUSTICE cannot be satisfied unless there be added to the freedom of the innocent slave the destruction of the guilty nation.

I have virtually said that whichever party wins the blacks wins the battle. Many think that we would proceed to conquer the South even after she had emancipated the slaves. But they are mistaken. We then could not conquer her if we would, and would not if we could. We should have neither the physical nor the moral power adequate to it. The sympathy of the world would be with the South. The contempt of the world would fall upon us. And must we come to this? Almost certainly. To ask Congress and the Cabinet, after all we have seen of them, to save us from this, would be scarcely more promising than to ask dead men to walk. As an instance of the deadness of our rulers to all the claims of patriotism and self-respect, the Senate of the United States is, I fear, morally unable to expel that arrant and shameless traitor, Jesse D. Bright.

Let me again express the hope that the philanthropists of England will labor to restore the exchange of good feeling between her and America. Let them to this end seek to better the bearing of the English press toward America. And let them explain to the English people that the base object of our pro-slavery Northern press in irritating England is to involve her in a war with us for the advantage of slavery and the South. But above all let them labor to convince England of her crime in declaring war against us. And that was a crime not against America only, but against the cause of Christian civilization also. If we did insult her, which we did not, she should not have tried to kill us for it. It is too late for a Christian nation to go to war for a mere insult. When it shall be right in one man to kill another for having insulted him, then, and not till then, will it be right in a nation to allow a mere insult to drive her to war. Love, and not pride, should be the animating principle of every nation as well as of every individual.

You will mark that I have not, in any part of my letter, fallen in with the incessant American abuse of England for her lack of sympathy with the anti-slavery North. The North is not anti-slavery, emphatically not as she is seen through the action of her government; and through that it is proper for England to see her and judge of her. In respect to her relations to slavery, the North is entitled not to the sympathy but only to the commisseration of England. However soundly anti-slavery England might be, consistency would not require her to have anti-slavery sympathy with the North. This much, however, I can say for the North—that a large and rapidly-increasing share of her people are sincerely opposed to slavery, and are filled with shame and sorrow because of her slavery-bound rulers. Thousands of men are still toiling, as for many years they have been, under every reproach and at every sacrifice, to break the yoke of their enslaved brother, and to save their beloved country. The breaking of that yoke is indeed an inexpressibly dear object to such men as Garrison and Phillips. But there are none more concerned than they are for the salvation of their country. The love of human rights does not interfere with patriotism. Nay, it is because of this love, that whenever you find a patriot of the truest type you find him an Abolitionist. The love of country, which he has in common with others, is fed and expanded in him by the love of universal man.

I have further concessions to make in this connection. I do not believe that England sympathizes with slavery in our rebellious States or anywhere else: and I do not believe that her need of their cotton can drive her to break the blockade of their ports. But I am pained by the apprehension that she will recognize the government which has within the last year been set up over those States. That I am pained by it is not because the recognition would tend to weaken the hands of the North in her present struggle. Whether she shall or shall not succeed in this struggle depends (provided always that the nation is not too guilty to be saved) not on any other nation, but on the simple question whether she shall or shall not allow slavery to keep hinderances in her way. Her way cleared of them and she is saved. But with them remaining in it she is lost.

It is because this new government is a piracy, and the most guilty and horrid piracy earth ever knew, that I am distressed at the thought of England's recognition of it. The day which shall witness such recognition will witness England's mighty influence for evil and a sensible reduction of the moral power of the world. This new government is sufficiently characterized when we have said that the great boast of its builders is that slavery is its corner-stone. Would God that England and all Europe, instead of letting this slavery-demonized Confederacy into the sisterhood of nations, might be inspired to say, as said Daniel Webster of another habitation where slavery was plying its horrid work: "Let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world: let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it!"

With great regard your friend,

GERRIT SMITH.

* Secretary Seward to Lord Lyons.

Selections.

MISSOURI SLAVES AND KANSAS CONTRABANDS.

From The Chicago Tribune.

IN slavery, a Missouri negro seems to be the most helpless, shiftless and indolent of beings, apparently childish, stupid and clumsy to the last degree, having but little idea of reason or self-dependence. But the moment freedom is assured, and from the change grows the necessity for effort, then a revolution, complete and instantaneous, is effected in the character of the former slave, and in the latter condition they have proved invariably industrous and self-reliant, prudent and well behaved, and above all, most eager to learn. It will interest our readers to give a brief statement of what has already been developed touching the condition of these people, now that the question of this age is forced upon us, not to be evaded or turned aside, What to do with the slaves of rebels? And since slavery and the rebellion are hand-in-hand, this leaves our government to deal with and hold the disposal of all but a moiety of those held in bondage, since in proportion to the whole body of the disloyal, the number of Union slaveholders is very small. Let us see what has been proven on the Kansas border.

The number of slaves freed by the agency of the Kansas soldiers, up to this date, cannot be less than 3,000, while several hundred others have crossed the river and border from Missouri, of their own volition. Gen. Lane's Brigade, since August, has brought out at least 2,000—Col. Jennison has relieved the rebels of not less than 700 or 800, while jayhawking parties and smaller detached commands have brought in as many more. A great many men are employed by officers, and as cooks in the messes of the soldiers. These all receive pay more or less liberal, varying from $8 to $20 per month, with clothes and rations. Besides this a number are employed as teamsters. The waggon-master of the Kansas Brigade is a black man known as Buck. He is quite a well known character on the border. The total thus employed must approximate to 500 persons. It would be desirable if some kind of discipline and drill could be given them, both because they generally show themselves courageous, and because it would be beneficial in forming and fostering habits of self-respect.

Experience has shown that the slave is not deficient in that which constitutes courage, except one thing. He has endurance—the passive power of resistance—strength, great natural energy when roused, but lacks that which we Anglo-Saxons denominate "pluck." This grows out of self-reliance and individuality, and in excess it makes of us bullies. The negro learns rapidly, and in no way would he gain a proper self-confidence so quickly as by having arms in his hands, being drilled, and then told to use them for his own liberty.

The principal portion of the contraband population live in the border Counties and towns. Leavenworth, Lawrence, Osawatomie, Atchison, and Mound City, have the larger population of them. Leavenworth probably has a population of over a thousand in the city and immediate vicinity. There has been for a long time an active and well-organized Underground Railroad at that point, the superintendent of which is a colored man. The knowledge of this depôt is wide-spread among the slaves in the contiguous portions of Missouri, and they are constantly availing themselves thereof. Lawrence has a population, in and around the town, of about the same as Leavenworth. Atchison has two or three hundred; Osawatomie and neighboring township three or four hundred; Mound City, Linn and Bourbon County must have over a thousand, as this section is where they were brought by Lane. At Topeka and other points there are a number. At first the people were alarmed at this influx of "cullerd pussons," and the prejudices of the majority found noisy vent. But that seems to be passing away, and the more active feelings of charity have been called forth to help them out of their destitute condition. True, this was fostered by the fact that the labor of these people came in very handily to supply that taken away by the war. All who are industrious can readily and do obtain work.

In the fall it was indeed a serious question what these people would do during the winter. But this, like the rest of questions, meets its solution in practical results. The best authorities say that among all the contrabands now in and coming to Kansas, there will not be over five per cent. who will in any way become chargeable to the public purse. Nor will this five per cent. long remain in a condition of pauperism. At all their meetings for education and other self-improvement projects among them, they have unmistakably shown their desire to do without aid from white people.

Most of the contrabands brought in by the army were provided with teams, or plunder of some description. Then our efforts and those of the soldiers, generally enabled them to bring away from their "secesh" owners a waggon, oxen or horses, bedding, provisions, etc., enough to give them a start in their new life. On the occasion of the last visit to Independence of Lieut. Col. Anthony, with a portion of Col. Jennison's regiment, a train of 130 contrabands were sent to Leavenworth under charge of a scout.

They took with them ten waggons, six yoke of oxen, some forty horses and mules, and considerable bedding, etc. By order of Col. Anthony, this property was sold at public auction when the train arrived in Leavenworth. The proceeds reached to over $1,200, which was divided among the negroes in proportion to their wants and their chances of employment. All of those able to work readily obtained it within a few days of their arrival. So at Lawrence, to which town was sent the first train Col. Jennison took; the waggons and teams they had were sold and the proceeds divided among them.

In the matter of education, the contrabands themselves show great eagerness to learn, and all the parents seem determined to obtain some education for their children. The citizens of the neighborhoods in which the negroes congregate are also doing much to aid them. At Lawrence a free school has been established, which is kept open in the day time for children and in the evening for adults. Over one hundred of the latter attend regularly, and it is certainly a most interesting sight to see the stalwart men and women, with their grotesque appearance and swarthy faces, so eagerly bent over their books, attempting to obtain that knowledge before which slavery vanishes as snow before the sunlight. The expenses of this school are at present paid by donations of the citizens. Most of the leading men of the town give liberally. Col. Jennison subscribed to the Lawrence School largely, and has also started and sustains, himself, a school for them at Osawatomie, which is under the direction of Rev. Elder Read, one of the survivors of the Márais des Cygnes, in May, 1856. At Mound City another school has been started. At Leavenworth, where there is considerable of a free colored population, they have two schools, sustained by the members of the two Churches, to which they belong, and for tuition in which a small sum has been charged. They are now organizing for the purpose of establishing a free school. Under the city ordinance the taxes paid by the colored people are to be used to sustain their schools. Under the State school law, they are entitled to the benefits of the school lands and funds, the statutes providing for a vote of the inhabitants of a district on the question of separate schools. Measures are being taken to secure these rights for the benefit of the colored people. These movements indicate to the observer the fact that the despised African shares with the more favored portion of the world the progressive desires of humanity. Among other efforts for the contrabands now being projected, is the organization of intelligence offices under the direction of responsible parties at the principal towns, by means of which the contrabands may be aided to find shelter on arrival, and work, at an early date. A number of families have already been provided for, and others will be as the movement extends.

FREE SONG ON THE POTOMAC.

DEDICATED TO THE HUTCHINSONS.

HA, TAPE and TINSEL! will ye stop
The swelling tide of Freedom's song,
Even while the Judgment Hour lets drop
God's lightning on the towers of wrong?
Forbid the fearless free who fling
Their lives on battle's combing wave
To hear their Mountain Warblers sing
Our ransom with the ransomed slave?
But Truth divine can pass your line
Without your word and countersign;
The winds will wing it,
The birds will sing it,
The seas will ring it,
The shouting brooks from the hills will bring it,
And your shattering cannon-peal shall fling it
Wherever a slave may pine!

Sweet songsters of the Granite Hills,
Birds of the rock and forest oak,
Wild bubbling as their own free rills
Their music, through the cannon-smoke,
Rained like the skylark's from her cloud;
And might have laid the fiend of Saul,
But makes your haunting fiend more loud,
Whose javelin seeks the life of all.
Unjustly strong, from out your throng
Ye drive the Flock, but not the Song!
The winds will wing it,
The birds will sing it,
The seas will ring it,
The shouting brooks from the hills will bring it,
And the screams of your roaring shells will fling it,
Wherever the weak bears wrong.

Not clanging horns nor rumbling drums
The tones that decpest thrill the land;
The Resurrection Angel comes
With Freedom's trumpet in her hand!
Its blast will call the living dead,
Redeemed, from slavery's Hadean tomb,
To find our welcome; or instead
Peal the last charge of flying Doom!
The hour of Fate will never wait,
Ye hear its judgment knell too late.
The winds will wing it,
The birds will sing it,
The seas will ring it,
The shouting brooks from the hills will bring it,
And a nation's dying groan shall fling it
Through the shattered prison-gate!

Once old chivalric honor reigned,
And Bards were sacred, e'en to foes;
They kept the glory heroes gained,
And sang high deeds that shamed repose.
But cheer, my Warblers! fly away
To sing more clear in smokeless air;
The herald Angels sing to-day,
Nor ask a tinseled tyrant where.
From heaven's blue cope the song of hope
Thrills down the bondman's dungeon slope;
The winds will wing it,
The birds will sing it,
The seas will ring it,
The shouting brooks from the hills will bring it,
And a rescued nation's voice shall fling it
Where the last lone slave may grope.

—*Independent.* GEORGE S. BURLEIGH.

THE WASHINGTON SLAVE PENS.

THE slave pens which have so long disgraced the Capital and the nation, and enriched their keepers, are at last to be swept away. Secretary Seward has issued an order to Ward H. Lamon,

loyal male slaves who have fed and clothed the rebel army, and have as good as fought upon their side. Government now proposes that these loyal slaves shall feed and clothe our army, and fight upon our side. The other day, while I was talking with the President, Old Abe said to me, 'Lane, how many black men do you want to have to take care of your army?' I told him as my army would number 34,000, I proposed to have thirty-four thousand contrabands in addition to my teamsters and waggon-masters. I consider every one of my soldiers engaged in this glorious crusade of freedom a knight-errant, and entitled to his squire to prepare his food, black his boots, load his gun, and take off his drudgery. Vanity and pride are necessary adjuncts of the soldier, and I do not propose to lower him by menial offices, nor compel him to perform the duties of the slave. So, while I shall elevate the slave by giving him his freedom and making a man of him, I shall also elevate the soldier and leave him no work to do but fighting." (A voice in the crowd—"What are you going to do with the niggers?") The General, singling out the owner of the voice, and pointing his long finger at him, replied: "Ah, my friend, you are just the man I have been looking for. I will tell you what I am going to do with them. I am going to plant them on the soil of the Gulf coast, after we have got through this war; let them stay there and cultivate the land; have government extend a protection to them, as it does to the Indians, and send superintendents and governors among them, and pay them wages for their labor. There could be no competition between black and white labor." He believed, whether the rebels liked the idea or not, that the blacks at no distant day would have possession of that Gulf country, to which they were acclimated and physically conditioned. He proposed to establish free State governments as he went along, and he could promise his hearers that either he or the rebels would be cleaned out.—*World.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "PUBLISHER OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, No. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK."

WHO IS TO BLAME?

In all great as well as small disturbances, of nations as well as of families, there is a tendency in human nature to shift the blame of having caused the same from one to another. We have not yet fully settled to our National satisfaction who was to blame for the establishment of slavery in America. The South and their Northern friends used to say that it was owing to English cupidity that the black race was forced upon the white, against the strong reclamations of the unhappy colonists. The British, on the other hand, while they cannot and do not deny the fact that the slave trade was carried on under the Cross of St. George, and that their government refused to forbid such profitable adventures, still maintain that if there had been no purchasers there would have been no importers, and that the planters who bought were more truly to blame than the traders who supplied their market, or the ministers that kept it open for both parties. Without going into these old stories, we will assume that if British slave-traders had not found it profitable to bring their living cargoes to the Southern ports, and if the planters had not found their account in taking them off their hands, Harley, and Sir Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle would have had no occasion to sustain them in their commercial relations against the better judgment of the colonial authorities. At any rate, slavery has been a fixed fact any time these two hundred years and more, and the question now is whether it is to be more fixed than ever, and, if so, who is the party who should bear the blame of it? For we do not think there can be found many men, unless here and there one in the mother country (we trust we shall never have another occasion for calling her the step-mother-country), who has been bitten by a mad political economist, who will affirm that our present civil war would have existed had not slavery let slip its hell hounds. Mr. Morrill may be a very bad man, but he is hardly competent to set a continent on fire with the worst Tariff he is competent to concoct. Such a fire can only be set of hell, and thence was the torch lighted which kindles up our horizon.

It is usual, in all such disputes, that the most innocent and harmless individual within reach is laid hold of to bear the burden of the blame. As the lamb was accused by the wolf of muddying the stream at which he was drinking lowest down, and as the ass, if we may believe La Fontaine, had to expiate by his death the crime of cropping a mouthful of grass in the Monk's meadow to avert the plague from the beasts, so the Abolitionists have had to labor under diverse and most opposite accusations, as the most convenient scape-goats at hand. Had it not been for them the slave States would have abolished slavery years ago. The slaveholders were all ready and eager to do this, but they were so irritated at finding that certain people at the North agreed with them in opinion, that they preferred suffering under an evil of which they were fully sensible, rather than gratify those officious persons who had the impertinence to think just as they did themselves. All the riots which have ever disturbed Northern cities and villages, in defence of the rights of slaveholders, have clearly been occasioned by those interlopers who would insist on calling those rights in question. All the legislation in Congress which the slaveholders have thought it necessary to engineer has been occasioned by the same miscreants, for what can be plainer than that, if slavery had never been attacked, and pretty successfully too, it would never have stood in need of those extraordinary defences? Thus the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, the Compromises of 1850, the Kansas imbroglio, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, are all of them the work of the Abolitionists, for had it not been for their mischievous agitation, none of these things had been necessary for the comfort and spread of slavery. It would have had all it wanted without being put to all this trouble. And now this war has come upon the country, it is very plain that it is the Abolitionists who have fanned the flame and supplied the fuel of the great conflagration. And the great apprehension of all conservative hearts is that the Abolitionists will be gratified in its ultimate result. Anything else would be well-pleasing in the sight of *The Herald* and *The Journal of Commerce*, here, and of *The Post* and *Courier*, at Boston, and of their kindred everywhere, rather than an issue which should prove the Abolitionists in the right and settle the question on a basis such as should be satisfactory to those malignants.

In all this, there is a grain or two of truth in many bushels of falsehood. The Abolitionists have made the holding of slaves more uncomfortable than it had ever been before, through their applying to the system the test of eternal morality. They have helped, undoubtedly, to put the slaveholders into that state of mind which seeks relief in secession and civil war. But in what degree are they morally responsible for it? Exactly as much as the preachers against intemperance are responsible for drunkenness, against shedding man's blood for murder, against covetousness for theft and robbery. They are only accountable for the natural and necessary consequences of their own doctrines. Had these doctrines prevailed, there surely would have been no civil war. The Southern country, instead of being the scene of lawless violence and organized cruelty and injustice, touching the white man as well as the black, would have been the abode of peace, order and abounding prosperity. Had the slave States listened to their warnings and their counsels, their lands would have teemed with ever-renewing harvests, instead of ever demanding a fresh victim soil as a sacrifice to their idol. Their wealth would have immensely increased, and with it they would have had freedom of speech and of the press. Then a good government, education and religion would have been possible things. The whole country would have shared in their blessings, and would have multiplied them in the partaking. The United States, truly such, would have been now the most powerful and richest empire on the face of the earth. This is the result which the Abolitionists sought to bring about, and it is the only one to which their doctrines and their practices tended. If, through falsehood and lies, these have been made to appear the very opposite of what they were, and if those lies have been made the means of bringing about a state of things the Abolitionists hoped to avert by their warning voices, they surely are not responsible for that.

But they who lay this blame upon the Abolitionists exclusively do them honor overmuch. It is to slavery and not to anti-slavery that all our woes are due. Slavery must, of its nature, either grow or die. It must either overshadow the continent or perish from the root upward. Had there been no moral movement against slavery, its political antagonism to the institutions of the free States must have brought about a conflict sooner or later. It has arrived sooner than it would, perhaps, had it not been for the Abolitionists, but then the general mind of the North is much better prepared for the issue than it could have been by any mere confliction of majorities or of politico-economical opinions. This is eminently a war of ideas, rather than of interests. We have had our share in generating and propagating the ideas which have set the Northern squadrons in the field. But slavery would have generated and propagated ideas which would have made a collision inevitable, had Garrison never uplifted his voice for the slave. Since the battle is now joined, we may be permitted to hope that it will have an ending of which we may have reason to boast. For, should it have an unhappy one, it will all be laid to our account. That result cannot be far distant. If the National armies have been held back for any wise purpose, the time must soon come when they must be urged forward. As soon as movement is physically possible, delay and defeat will become equivalent words. Then the alternative, we believe, will be distinctly presented, and the encounter of hosts will be victorious to the Northern arms, just as far as the chiefs are willing to write Justice on their banners. If they make it clear that their object is, at all events, what is evidently the wish of the President, if possible, to conquer the rebels and at the same time keep their slaves ready chained for them after it is done, we believe that their defeat is inevitable. Or, if successful, what better than a defeat would be a victory which should be rounded by terms dictated by Jefferson Davis, and which should result in making him the next President of the United States? If, by wise choice or dire necessity, the alternative of emancipation be accepted and made an integral portion of the plan of the campaign, and no peace be contemplated or regarded as possible, which should leave a single slave on the continent, if we did not achieve victory we should at least deserve it, and should make any intermeddling of the European nations in our quarrel as infamous as it would be selfish and malignant. The only effect of such intervention would be to build up a Confederacy making human slavery the head of its corner. For such a result we certainly are not to blame, and, should it be brought about, the Abolitionists of America, at least, can wash their hands of it in innocency.

MR. CONWAY'S LECTURE.

In spite of the unpropitious condition of the streets, not less than 1,200 people were convened in the Church of the Puritans on Thursday evening, Jan. 30th, to hear a lecture from Rev. M. D. Conway of Cincinnati. The lecturer appeared in compliance with the following requisition:

NEW YORK, Jan. 25, 1862.

REV. M. D. CONWAY—*Dear Sir:* Understanding that you are to be in this neighborhood for a few days, and that you have a very carefully prepared statement of facts and arguments respecting slavery as involved in the present war, we are sure that we speak not for ourselves only, but for many others, when we express a strong desire that your lecture may be heard in New York.

As one born and nurtured in Virginia in close intercourse up to manhood with slaves and slave-owners, and therefore fully acquainted with Southern society—as one who has lived in the city of Washington and has recently come thence laden with the results of fresh observation—as one who, resident for some years in the State of Ohio, has enjoyed large opportunities of studying appreciatingly the sentiments of Northern and Western men, we are persuaded that your thoughts on the vital question now before the country must be more than usually fresh, valuable, and interesting, while we have full confidence that the author of "The Rejected Stone" cannot fail to present his thoughts in a manner to engage the earnest attention of all who will come to hear him.

Hoping that it may be in your power to respond to our request, and begging you to name an evening for the delivery of your lecture, we remain,

Very faithfully, yours,

GEORGE B. CHEEVER,	THOMAS J. HALL.
LEWIS FRANCIS,	O. B. FROTHINGHAM,
DEXTER FAIRBANK,	H. A. HAUTT, M.D.,
W. E. WHITING,	W. C. BRYANT,
EDWIN WEST, M.D.,	OLIVER JOHNSON,
EDWARD GILBERT,	SYDNEY HOWARD GAY,
D. PLUMB,	CHARLES A. DANA,
KENYON COX,	CHARLES L. BRACE,
HORACE GREELEY.	

The lecture did not in any respect disappoint the expectations awakened by the publication of this call. On the contrary, it gave unalloyed satisfaction to the whole auditory, not a few of whom thought it in some respects the most striking presentation of the subject thus far made in New York. Mr. Conway's central idea, of course, was—Emancipation indispensable to the salvation of the country; and he enforced it by arguments and illustrations, some of which were quite original, and, in the mouth of a native of Virginia, very forcible and convincing. We undertake no epitome of the lecture, fearing to do injustice to the speaker by attempting to condense a production whose well-chosen words bore exactly the right relations to the thought they were intended to convey. We trust it will ere-long find its way into print from the author's own manuscript.

MASON AND SLIDELL IN ENGLAND.

If the extracts from British newspapers which will be found on the fourth page afford any true indication of the feelings of the British people toward Messrs. Mason and Slidell, we may be sure that those rebel emissaries have not met a very flattering reception in that country. *Punch*, we observe, hopes there will be "no fuss" over them, and gives this counsel to the people of Southampton:

"You feasted Kossuth some years ago, and the other day you feasted the Archduke of Austria. Apparently you don't much mind whom you feast, provided it is a celebrity. But pray, now, don't go feasting Slidell and Mason.

"We have narrowly escaped from being involved in a war because of a notion on the part of the Yankees that we sympathize with the South. It is advisable for us to abstain from any act which may tend to confirm that absurd but inveterate persuasion. They are as mad as snakes because the Nashville is lying in your docks. If you ask Slidell and Mason to dinner, and drink their healths, and have them and your orators spouting and speechifying, and extolling the British Lion, Yankee Doodle, who does not understand your enthusiastic hospitality and demonstrativeness, will assuredly regard your welcome of the Southern Commissioners as a declaration on the part of the people of England for the Confederate side. Invite those gentlemen to dine at your own houses if you like, but beware lest, by giving them what continental editors call an 'ovation,' you cause all of your countrymen to be lumped by the Yankees as confederates with the Southern Confederacy. Be pleased, therefore, to deny yourselves on this occasion, for once, the gratification of feasting illustrious strangers, and oblige your obedient humble servant, PUNCH.

"P. S.—My advice to you is also my advice to Liverpool.

"N. B.—Slidell and Mason can have little power to promote the commercial interests of Southampton."

Still more significant is the following note, which appeared in the paper whose address it bears:

"*To the Editor of The Star and Dial:*

"SIR: May I be allowed, through your columns, to suggest to Messrs. Mason and Slidell, if they favor this country with a visit, that they should restrain their curiosity, not show themselves too freely in public, and, in particular, not pay a visit to Barclay's brewery?

"I am, sir, yours most obediently,

"A FRIEND TO 'THE INSTITUTION.'

"London, January 9, 1862."

The Evening Post of this city, commenting on the above, says: "Neither Mason nor Slidell possesses a luxuriant moustache like that of the Austrian butcher Haynau; but they wear long hair, after the Southern fashion, and Barclay and Perkins's brewerymen might possibly get a "purchase" on that. On the whole, the advice of *The Star's* correspondent is timely."

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON,

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

Thursday Evening, January 23, 1862.

MR. PRESIDENT: It is too late, I think, for me to make even a brief speech; and I feel extremely reluctant to intrude upon your time, or your bodily endurance, as a mere matter of courtesy or kindness. It seems to me that after the speech to which we have listened [referring to the speech of J. S. ROCK, Esq.], nothing need be added to deepen the impression of this audience in the right direction, in favor of the cause of the oppressed. Had I not better sit down? (Loud cries of "Go on," "Go on.") I will, then, say a few words (great applause).

One such speech as that which has just been made is a complete and triumphant answer to all the folly and nonsense that we have heard for so many years in regard to the intellect and the possibilities of the black man (applause); whether he is an inferior being or not—whether he is capable of civilization—whether, if free, he can take care of himself—like other men. Is there a man in this house who would not be proud to be able to make such a speech, whatever his complexion? I, for one, hesitate about going on after its delivery (applause)—a speech so well reasoned, and so thoroughly conclusive in all its positions.

Mr. President, our friend, Mr. Alger, this morning, began the opening speech of our Convention by giving us a word of cheer, and congratulating us on the auspicious signs of the times. Those who came after him were generally inclined to take a somewhat sombre view of the state of public affairs: on the whole, so sombre that I feel disposed to try if I cannot at least strike a balance, and endeavor to show that, even if we may not be thoroughly exultant in spirit, we have no reason to be cast down, and that our cause is steadily onward, and making as rapid progress as we have any just reason to hope. Why, how is it as respects this meeting? A year ago, and our anniversary was furiously assailed by a howling mob. Where are the mobocrats now? Some of them have gone to fight those in whose behalf they howled upon our track last year. At any rate, they are not here; or, if they are, they are sitting decently, "clothed, and in their right mind." This, surely, is encouraging. So, too, when a considerable portion of them are seen in martial array going down Broadway, New York, on their way to Virginia, singing—

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave—
His soul is marching on,"

I think our cause is also "marching on" (loud applause). It is for us to be hopeful and confident. An Apostle of old said—though the days were perilous in which he spoke, and though the trials through which he and his associates were passing were terrible—"We are always confident"; and so the Abolitionists may say.

What have we to rejoice over? Why, I say, the war! "What! this fratricidal war? What? this civil war? What! this treasonable dismemberment of the Union?" Yes, thank God for it all!—for it indicates the waning power of slavery, and the irresistible growth of freedom, and that the day of Northern submission is past (applause). It is better that we should be so virtuous that the vicious cannot live with us, than to be so vile that they can endure and relish our company. No matter what may be said of the government—how it timidly holds back—how it lacks courage, energy and faith—how it refuses to strike the blow which alone will settle the rebellion. No matter what may be said of President Lincoln or Gen. McClellan, by way of criticism—and a great deal can be justly said to their condemnation—one cheering fact overrides all these considerations, making them as dust in the balance, and that is, that our free North is utterly unendurable to the slaveholding South (applause); that we have at last so far advanced in our love of liberty and sympathy for the oppressed, as a people, that it is not possible any longer for the "traffickers in slaves and souls of men" to walk in union with us. I call that a very cheering fact (applause). Yes, the Union is divided; but better division, than that we should be under the lash of Southern overseers! Better civil war, if it must come, than for us to crouch in the dust, and allow ourselves to be driven to the wall by a miserable and merciless slave oligarchy! (Applause.) This war has come because of the increasing love of liberty here at the North; and although, as a people, we do not yet come up to the high standard of duty in striking directly at the slave system for its extirpation as the root and source of all our woe—nevertheless, the sentiment of the North is deepening daily in the right direction. I hold that it is not wise for us to be too microscopic in endeavoring to find disagreeable and annoying things, still less to assume that everything is waxing worse and worse, and that there is little or no hope. No; broaden your views; take a more philosophical grasp of the great question; and see that, criticise and condemn as we may and should, in certain directions, the fountains of the great deep are broken up—see that this is fundamentally a struggle between all the elements of freedom on the one hand, and all the elements of despotism on the other, with whatever of alloy in the mixture (applause).

I repeat, the war furnishes ground for high encouragement. "Why," some may exclaim, "we thought you were a peace man!" Yes, verily, I am, and none the less so because of these declarations. Would the cause of peace be the gainer by the substitution of the power of the rebel traitors over the nation for the supremacy of the democratic idea? Would the cause of peace be promoted by the North basely yielding up all her rights, and allowing her free institutions to be overthrown? Certainly not. Then, as a peace man, I rejoice that the issue is at last made up, and that the struggle is going on, because I see in it the sign of ultimate redemption. Besides, whether we would have it so or not, it comes inevitably, because of our great national transgression, which is slavery. Slavery is anti-democratic, anti-Christian, anti-human, demoniacal. It does not believe that the image of God in man is sacred. It does not regard a human being as having any natural, essential and inalienable rights. It believes in might, in power, in dominion, in desecrating the image of God for gain, and turning it into a mere article of merchandise. For this we are to be severely scourged, and we deserve it. But, with this retribution God mingles mercy, and He now permits us to do great things in His name by putting away our iniquity, and letting the oppressed go free. What! no progress made in this long-protracted anti-slavery struggle! Our prospects dark and almost hopeless! All our labors and sacrifices in vain! Why, see what a marvellous change has taken place within the last twelve months! One year ago, and the President of the United States had no more power, constitutionally, to touch the fetter of a single slave in any of the slave States, than he had to be the sovereign of Great Britain. Now, by the rebellion, and in consequence of it, he is constitutionally clothed with full power to abolish slavery forever (loud applause). Is not this something to rejoice over, and may we not give thanks for this altered state of things? Yes, President Lincoln to-night, if he will but do it, may constitutionally emancipate every slave, and thereby give a death-blow to the rebellion in our country. The power is in his hands, the right is indisputable, the necessity imperative, and holding back covers him with guilt, covers the government with blood, and makes it a more criminal omission of duty than that which characterized the conduct of Pharaoh in the days of old (applause).

Something has been said about the charge made against the Abolitionists, that they have been the cause of this war. Well, everything depends upon the meaning of language. If it is meant that the Abolitionists have so far educated the conscience of the North in respect to the claims of bleeding humanity and the rights of the oppressed, that they have brought it up to this point at last, no longer to consent to the further extension of slavery; and that, in consequence of this determination, the South has revolted and withdrawn from the Union, it is all true. But that, surely, is not discreditable to the Abolitionists! They have been doing a good work. True to freedom, true to all free institutions, they have indeed so changed the Northern mind and purpose as to inspire the Spirit of Liberty to stand up, and say to the Slave Power—"Thus far shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." This is progress (applause).

I do not know that some margin of allowance may not be made even for the Administration. I would rather be over magnanimous than wanting in justice. Supposing Mr. Lincoln could answer to-night, and we should say to him—"Sir, with the power in your hands, slavery being the cause of the rebellion beyond all controversy, why don't you put the trump of jubilee to your lips, and proclaim universal freedom?" possibly he might answer—"Gentlemen, I understand this matter quite as well as you do. I do not know that I differ in opinion from you; but will you insure me the support of a united North if I do as you bid me? Are all parties and all sects at the North so convinced and so united on this point, that they will stand by the government? If so, give me the evidence of it, and I will strike the blow (applause). But, gentlemen, looking over the entire North, and seeing in all your towns and cities papers representing a considerable, if not a formidable portion of the people, menacing and bullying the government in case it dare to liberate the slaves, even as a matter of self-preservation, I do not feel that the hour has yet come that will render it safe for the government to take that step." I am willing to believe that something of this feeling weighs in the mind of the President and the Cabinet, and that there is some ground for hesitancy, as a mere matter of political expediency. My reply, however, to the President would be—"Sir, the power is in your hands as President of the United States, and Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy. Do your duty; give to the slaves their liberty by proclamation, as far as that can give it; and if the North shall betray you, and prefer the success of the rebellion to the preservation of the Union, let the dread responsibility be hers, but stand with God and Freedom on your side, come what may!" (Loud applause). But men high in office are not apt to be led by such lofty moral considerations; and, therefore, we should not judge the present incumbents too harshly. Doubtless, they want to be assured of the Northern heart, feeling, cooperation, approval. Can these be safely relied upon when the decisive blow shall be struck? That is the question; and it is a very serious question. Does not the Boston *Post*—the *Democratic* (!) Boston *Post*—menace the government if it shall dare to go for Democratic freedom to the slaves? Do not the Boston *Courier*, the New York *Journal of Commerce*, the New York *Express*, and scores of other satanic papers, tell the government that the moment the proclamation of freedom shall go forth, the army will be demoralized, disorganized, disbanded—that the officers will throw up their commissions—and even intimate that Congress will be driven out of the Capital?

That is the state of things with us. Nevertheless, I think the Administration is unnecessarily timid, and not undeserving of rebuke. I think that this bellowing, bullying, treasonable party at the North has, after all, but very little left, either in point of numbers or power; the fangs of the viper are drawn, though the venomous feeling remains. Still, it has its effect, and produces a damaging, if not paralyzing impression at Washington.

One word in regard to England. There is an unusual sympathy for the Southern slaveholders manifested on the other side of the Atlantic. Scoffers say, "Look at anti-slavery England—Exeter Hall, anti-slavery England! There are your English Abolitionists! See how they can hypocritically talk about the wrongfulness of slavery, and yet go readily over, for selfish considerations, to the side of the Southern Confederacy, whose corner-stone is slavery! See how they have blustered and threatened war, in case those rebel ambassadors, Mason and Slidell, were not instantly liberated! They are a people hypocritical to the last degree. They are meanly jealous of us, and hate us, and want to see our free institutions overthrown." Mr. President, I think much of this, on analysis, will be found to be gross misapprehension. In the first place, the British government is not, and never has been, an anti-slavery government, in the sense of being imbued with the spirit of humanity towards those in bondage. It was opposed to the abolition of slavery in the West India Islands, and used its power to prevent that beneficent measure. It was the moral and religious sentiment of the people, making it finally unsafe for the government any longer to withhold the boon, that gave freedom to the slaves of the West Indies. But recollect that nearly a whole generation has passed away since that struggle took place. Those who are now living have had no trial of their principles; there has been no anti-slavery agitation, no powerful West India interest to test them, whether they would dare to be on the side of the bondman or not. All these things have passed away, and left only a mere sentiment opposed to slavery, because human nature everywhere (self-interest being removed) rises up to pronounce sentence against that crime. My friend, Mr. Whiting, read an extract from an article in the London *Herald*; and I was pleased to hear him state that *The Herald* is the organ of the aristocracy. That is true, and that explains the matter. Slavery, in the guise of Confederate independence, in this country, now appeals for sympathy and aid to the aristocracy and toryism of the Old World, because it sees that its hour of overthrow is rapidly approaching. While it held the reins of power throughout the land, and dictated and controlled the national policy, from the time of George Washington down to that of Abraham Lincoln, there was no special anxiety on the part of English toryism in regard to American democracy thus governed. Now, for the first time, slavery goes to the wall, the Slave Power is ousted from the government, and there is a cry of distress raised, and the toryism of England naturally comes to the rescue. But England is not all aristocracy, all toryism. I will put JOHN BRIGHT, and RICHARD COBDEN, and GEORGE THOMPSON, and the stalwart veteran T. PERRONET THOMPSON, into one scale, and the London *Times*, and London *Herald*, and all the other venal presses of England, into the other, and I know which will kick the beam (applause). The intelligent, moral and democratic portion of England naturally and necessarily gravitate to the side of the North. They understand, that, whatever may be the shortcomings and inconsistencies of our government—and they are many and grievous—and notwithstanding it is entangled more or less with slavery—after all, this is essentially a struggle between democratic freedom on the one hand, and slaveholding despotism on the other, and they give their sympathy to the side of freedom (applause).

I say this, and I feel bound to say this, in defence of that portion—and a very considerable portion, too—of the English people. I have been among them a great deal, have travelled extensively, have met them socially and publicly, and I never saw, in all my travels, anything of jealousy toward this country, any manifestation of hatred or rivalry. I never heard any expressions of ill-will, any hope expressed that our free institutions would be overthrown. No; but I have again and again heard, in public assemblies, the most eulogistic commendations of America, wherein she deserved to be commended, and always the house came down with thunders of applause, showing a very generous and sympathizing spirit. I believe there is incomparably more hatred of England in America than there is hatred of America in England (applause).

Well, we must endeavor to secure the cooperation of the friends of freedom throughout the world. There is but one way to do that, and that is for us, as a people and as a government, to decree the immediate abolition of slavery (applause). O that the government had more faith and more courage! O that the army had more of inspiration! O that Gen. McClellan were prepared to go forth as a deliverer! It is sad that it is so. But we must remember the actual state of the country. A year ago, and anti-slavery meetings were mobbed from Boston to Buffalo. The people have been everywhere surcharged with a pro-slavery spirit. We are now going through a fiery trial, that we may be educated to see that we cannot possibly have any liberty left to ourselves, while we are in complicity with those who enslave their fellow-men. We are to be taught by much suffering. Suppose the army should be defeated—very likely it will; suppose our navy operations shall be baffled—very likely they may be; suppose that many an additional vial of retribution shall be poured out upon us—we deserve it all. And yet, it will not be a hopeless day. No; when the justice of God is abroad—when retribution for long-continued iniquity is poured out—it is not a hopeless day. Through sore trials and merited chastisement, we may be brought back to God; through much tribulation, we may enter into the kingdom; and so, putting away our sins against freedom and humanity, we may finally secure victory, and the benediction of Heaven.

I have great faith in the future. We shall not go back to "the beggarly elements" of old. The "covenant with death" is annulled; the "agreement with hell" no longer stands. Under the new order of things, new relations exist, and the government is invested with extraordinary powers. There is freedom of speech; we may now assemble together as we will to denounce slavery, and the people are eager to hear and ready to applaud. Multitudes of petitions are pouring into Congress from all parts of the great North, asking that body at once to abolish slavery under the War Power (applause). George B. Cheever speaks in the city of Washington, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, before four thousand people, in favor of immediate emancipation, and is applauded to the echo (applause). Horace Greeley, Dr. Brownson, and Mr. Dickinson, go there on the same mission, to enforce the same duty upon the government, and they are all applauded. It is stated that our eloquent friend and coadjutor, Wendell Phillips, is also to go there, and bear his testimony (prolonged applause). Is not that cheering? Why, you have just cheered it! (Laughter.) True, as I recently said at New York, there is a little drawback to all this; for while this indicates great progress, I feel not a little humiliated when I remember that it is possible for these brave men thus to speak, only because there are 150,000 Northern bayonets in and around Washington! An American citizen has a right to stand in the Capital, in Charleston, in New Orleans, under the flag and the Constitution, and denounce oppression in every form, without any liability to suffering or personal danger. But it takes 150,000 Northern bayonets, to-day, to render it possible for Dr. Cheever, Dr. Brownson, and Horace Greeley, to speak at Washington in favor of impartially carrying out the Declaration of Independence in our country! On the other hand, it is something to have 150,000 bayonets there! (Applause.) And so I extract consolation even from deep humiliation.

Let us criticise where we can, and condemn where we must. The conduct of the government towards the contrabands is painfully equivocal, but I do not think it is all brutal. Let me generously make a slight plea for the government. The order sent by Secretary Cameron to Fortress Monroe was—"Don't send any of the contrabands back to slavery, whether belonging to loyal or disloyal masters!" (Applause.) Gen. Sherman received the same instructions at Port Royal. So far good. But it is said—"The government has not proclaimed them free." Not exactly. The government is "prudent," "judicious," you know. That is to say, it means, undoubtedly, never to send the fugitive back—never! (Applause.) They are to have their freedom; they are to have the wages, ultimately, which they are now earning; but the government avoids saying this in so many words at the present, as a measure of policy. Not only will they never be again enslaved, but events are tending to universal emancipation (applause). The government—well, as it is sometimes said, in a certain contingency, both "mother and child are doing as well as could be expected,"—so I am charitably inclined to think that, on the whole, the government is doing "as well as could be expected"! (Laughter and applause.)

Of course, I am now taking rather a rose colored view of things, because it seems to me, on the whole, that the strain to-day has been a little too despondent, and I want you to feel encouraged and hopeful in respect to the future, and the certain triumph of the anti-slavery cause (applause).

THE SUBLIMITY OF THE PRESENT CRISIS.

It is a striking indication of the state of public feeling in respect to the great issue now before the country, that the Church of the Puritans is sure to be thronged whenever it is known that Dr. Cheever will preach on the subject. For months past, on nearly every Sunday evening, his theme has been Slavery and the War, but in his hands that theme never becomes stale. People go and hear him again and again, and go away each time more than ever impressed by his prophet-like earnestness, and the variety and power of the intellectually resources which he brings to the illustration of the subject.

Last Sunday evening his theme was "The Sublimity of the Present Crisis." The house was completely packed long before the hour for beginning service. The Doctor took for his text these passages:

O thou sword of the Lord, how long *will it be* ere thou be quiet? Put up thyself into thy scabbard, rest and be still. How can it be quiet, seeing the Lord hath given it a charge against Ashkelon and against the seashore? there hath He appointed it.—*Jeremiah xlvii.* 6, 7.

Cursed *be* he that doeth the work of the Lord deceitfully, and cursed *be* he that keepeth back his sword from blood.—*Jeremiah xlviii.* 10.

There are, said Dr. Cheever, wars that are of the Lord, and they cannot and will not cease, till His purposes are accomplished by them. This war is of mercy as well as judgment, for the deliverance of the enslaved. God waits for us to prosecute it according to His Word, with this grand and glorious object in view. This purpose on our part would be our salvation. This effort would be for us the immediate crushing of the rebellion—an immediate victory. We are in great guilt, calamity and danger, and amidst it all, though thrown immediately on God, we do not feel it as we ought, do not pray as we ought, do not prostrate ourselves before God. Unless we conquer we die. We cannot conquer but by God. We cannot have God with us till we acknowledge our guilt, and repent of it. I will go and return to my place till they acknowledge their offence and seek my face. In their affliction they will seek me early. But repentance is emancipation. To that, therefore, we are absolutely shut up. Is there any prospect of that, and of its coming in season? A member of Congress, in a letter recently written, says:

"I am still of opinion that this war is to put an end to slavery, but I do not know that it will do it before it puts an end to our government. It is my solemn conviction that in less than ninety days our sun rises in glory, or sets in Egyptian darkness. We will pray on, hope on, work on, do our duty to our country, come what may."

The proposed reconstruction of slavery, in the very midst of God's judgments against the crime, is a hardihood of impiety against God, and an extreme of treason against the country, never paralleled. It is just as when the besotted Israelites, right under the mount of God, beneath the thunderings and lightnings of God's glory, and while the region was all on fire with the majesty of heaven, taxed themselves to construct an idol in the image of a beast. So are our leaders and our people, in the very midst of the array of God's forces against this iniquity, setting up this Dagon in his place again, and preparing to dance before it. Would to God we had some Moses to come down from the mount, and, in the name and with the authority of a God of Justice and Righteousness, burn this calf in the fire, and grind it to powder, and mingle it in the water, and compel every General, and every Cabinet officer, every clergyman, and every layman, whose voice has been for this reconstruction and worship, to drink it to the dregs. This infatuation, this madness of inveterate and doting attachment to slavery even while its mailed hand is at our throat with a death grip, it is to be feared is a judicial curse. Nothing in all history can parallel so suicidal a fatuity. And as to meanness and criminality, it is as if the Apostolic Church had made a saint of Judas after he had betrayed Christ and hanged himself. It is as if the Israelites had expelled Joshua from their camp, and taken Achan or Og, King of Bashan, to be their leader. It is as if after John the Baptist's murder, they had elected Herod to be their prophet and pastor in his stead. In reference to the expulsion of the Hutchinsons from the camps on the Potomac, Dr. C. said, What in all ages has ever inspired an army of freemen, but freedom? Instead of that, the gamut of our Generals, the watchword of our patriotism is the Constitution and slavery, and the very melodies of freedom are forbidden. If you suffocate these impulses you destroy the life, the quickening energy on which you must rely in battle. In the battle of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington perceived a wavering of the 42d Regiment of Highlanders, and on inquiring, found that some one had commanded the bagpipes to cease playing. He instantly ordered them to be played in full blast, and immediately the brave regiment rallied, and rushed with indomitable courage to the conflict. Suppose that Wellington had ordered all the Scotch musicians to be expelled from the army, because they would play Bruce's address and that was offensive to the French taste in music; this would have been not so absurd a piece of meanness and insolence as the order of the American Commander forbidding melodies of freedom in the American camp, because they set the army against slavery. That act was an insult to the whole people of the North.

He concluded by considering certain contingencies before us. In reference to the attempts of making a peace by quelling the agitation of the question of human freedom, he said, the agitation can no more be put down by a reconstruction of the Union and slavery, than you could stop an eruption of Etna by building a summer-house upon its crater, or tie up a stream of its lava with red tape, or calm Vesuvius by the sight of Gen. McClellan's epaulets, or a letter from the Secretary of State.

He closed with the following appeal: Let us abolish slavery, and then, even if the Confederate band of menstealers are received into friendly partnership by the European Powers, and we stand alone, we shall be stronger, with God and Liberty on our side, than all Europe and the South with Satan and slavery on theirs (applause). Let us abolish slavery, and our progress, as an empire in prosperity and power, has only begun. We should roll on in our career of greatness, under the blessing of God, while the community of slave-traders would continue to decline, withered morally and physically, and disintegrated, degraded and blasted at every step. Let us abolish slavery, and, though defeated now, because the measure came too late, yet being baptized of God ourselves for this work, even in blood, and ourselves really redeemed, we should abolish it, even in the South. Let us abolish slavery, and although it is possible that by the help of Europe they may gain their diabolical independence for a season, they will be forced to give up this iniquity in the end. God will give them over into the power of those whom they have so long oppressed. They cannot stand as a slave empire the moment the North fling off their slavery in hatred and scorn, and stand beside them as a free nation, no longer pledged to act the part of slave-hunters and bloodhounds for them, but inviting every panting fugitive to freedom, and pledged to God and humanity to protect and bless in God's name the victims of oppression. Let us abolish slavery; for so doing we obey God and save the South as well as the North from incalculable misery. Let us abolish slavery, and employ the slaves themselves to spare and protect our own soldiers, and gain their rights and our salvation.

Dr. Cheever, at the conclusion of his sermon, addressed himself to the soldiers present in a very affectionate and eloquent manner, urging them never to obey any mandate, from whatever source it might come, to catch and send back the poor panting fugitive from the land of bondage.

The discourse was applauded at various points, particularly when the name of Fremont was mentioned, and at the close the Hutchinsons sang the John Brown Hallelujah Hymn, which the audience received with hearty demonstrations of applause.

LETTER FROM PARKER PILLSBURY.

BOSTON, Jan. 28, 1862.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard:

THE last letter from your invaluable Dublin correspondent contains the following—alas! too truly told:

"A great portion of your present embarrassment appears to result, not only from Southern pride and love of domination, but from the prejudice against color, and the negro-hate with which multitudes of Northern men are saturated."

That this great fact should be overlooked by politicians, and even a "negro-pew"-sustaining-Church and pulpit, is not strange. But this makes our duty in the premises, as Abolitionists, all the more important and imperative. In some of the recent most excellent letters of Mr. Gerrit Smith, the subject is well and very forcibly treated; but I do not think so much can be said truly of any other prominent writer or speaker among us, unless it be Dr. Cheever of New York.

A good deal is said about our "many sources of hope and encouragement," at the present hour. My view of that matter is, that there is no more alarming feature in the whole strife than that so many leading Abolitionists talk about our work being nearly done, *and very well done;* and that we can already begin to see and to sing the salvation of God!

Prejudice against color is the very underpinning and foundation of slavery in this country. And in what direction is this terrible granite yet shaken, in Church or State? "*Compensation to masters and colonization for slaves,*" are the most we hear from the government; perhaps better than we hear from most of the Churches. And the Abolitionists themselves, in great numbers, seem reconciled to the former doctrine already; and I fear will yet become too easy converts to the latter. To me, both these proposals are a frightful injustice, springing really from the same source—disregard of the negro's Humanity, on the part of the best who reciprocate them, and of absolute hatred to his color, on the part of all the rest.

A rich "loyal slaveholder"—rich after his hundred, or hundreds of slaves are taken from him—rich because they have made him so, by unpaid sweat and toil and tears—he must be "*compensated for loss of property*"! But alas for his slaves! They go forth a battalion of

of prejudice against color cast out. Both hold their old throne and sway, North and South. Where, then, is our claim for success here, or hope of salvation hereafter?

PARKER PILLSBURY.

THE OBJECTIONS TO ASKING CONGRESS FOR A DECREE OF EMANCIPATION.

BY REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER.

THERE is no objection oftener interposed against special efforts, by way of testimony resolutions, petitions, or otherwise, to array the Churches and the ministry against slavery, than this: God is compassing the overthrow of slavery fast enough without thrusting in our agency—if He has suffered it so far, I can bear it still, till His time for it to cease has come—we need not vex ourselves with it as ministers or Churches—God will end it in the best way and time; and we are only in danger of precipitating events before they are ripe, and of embarrassing the government by useless petitions—better to stand still and see the salvation of God—the country is *drifting* into the right position fast enough—besides, Churches and ministers are not responsible for the politics of the country, nor is it their business to meddle in public affairs; and what good will a petition or a resolution do? When have we gained anything in any cause by petitions to Congress? All will not concur in it; and a "public agitation for subscribers to a petition praying Congress for an act of universal emancipation, will seriously divide the loyal people." Such a measure may be right, but it is not expedient, and I therefore cannot favor it. It is said upon high authority† that "we must not by Congressional legislation declare political emancipation."

These are the objections and fallacies to be met in some quarters at the present moment nine times out of ten, when it is proposed to *do anything against slavery.* Some men that will roar the loudest and most magniloquently against slavery as "a nuisance," when it means nothing, and that will get up on the stilts of talk in the Lyceum and at the corners of the streets, will not do so much as even to sign a petition asking Congress or the President for a decree of emancipation.

And sometimes you will meet a minister who will gravely argue that he cannot ask Congress to do, by right of the war power, a thing unlawful in time of peace; and that the government is forbidden by the oaths and compromises of the Constitution from decreeing emancipation in the rebellious States—States that utterly repudiate that Constitution with all its oaths and compromises, and by the very act of rebellion, according to all the laws of nations, have reduced themselves to the condition of territories, and have absolved the United States from every constitutional obligation whatever but to coerce them into submission, and then carve them up into whatever sections the public good may require. Besides (continues the idolator of names and precedents, and majorities, and the toady of titles), Dr. So-and-So, and Rev. This and Elder That, and Judge Somebody, are on the side of slavery and secession; and they are as good and sincere men, and as intelligent as any on the other side. Which is right? and who is to decide? I cannot tell, and so must be neuter.

As if there were no immutable standard of right and wrong; but we are all afloat and drifting on the sea of expediency, with nothing for a rudder but the vague New Haven notion of the highest good. Or, as if there were no revealed Word of God, by the study of which we can settle for ourselves every principle of conduct and every question of duty, irrespective of South-side divines, or North-side doughfaces, or wishy-washy twaddlers astride the fence, without what the French call any courage of opinions. Or, as if it could ever be otherwise than an eternal disgrace to be neuter in the cause of the slave. It is nothing, said honest John Brown, to die in a good cause, but it is *an eternal disgrace to sit still in the presence of the barbarities of American slavery.*

To another generation, when we shall have gotten rid of the dire disturbance of slavery, by the righteous judgment of God beheading it in America before all the world; and when slaveholding shall be the hideous crime of the past, it will be inexplicable that Christian men, much more ministers of the Gospel, should have so winked at it, or for a moment have refused to go against it by every possible method and testimony in their power. But as yet the pro-slavery night broodeth, and the pro-slavery cant prevaileth in the interest of "loyal masters," and the palsying curse of inaction hangeth upon the Churches.

Whether it will be lifted from them in time to save us from utter national ruin is now a matter of extremest doubt. For the pusillanimous, vascillating, point-no-point policy of the government has prevailed so long, that affairs, it is to be feared, have become too complicated, and the likelihood of an imbroglio with foreign powers is too great for us to be extricated by what would once have given us instant enlargement.

As new evidence of the judicial palsy, the retributive blindness and imbecility that seem to have possessed many of the Northern ministry and Churches at the present time, so that the large majority of them lift not a finger to save our country by national emancipation, but rather frown upon it, when the ship of State is seen to be steadily drifting upon the breakers—take the following paper, which was presented at a public meeting on the late National Fast Day in September, before one of our New England Churches, but was denied entertainment as inexpedient for such a time. The paper was modestly offered by the senior deacon of the Church, as being what his convictions of duty forced him to submit to his brethren. And although three ministers were present, and had it in their power to have secured its adoption by the meeting, it was passed by without action, exceptions being taken to its spirit and propriety.

And it is for making a record of such lost opportunities of testimony against slavery on the part of Churches and ministers, that the Church Anti-Slavery Society is charged with "systematically misrepresenting and maligning the ministry and Churches of New England." But no *mis*-representation could possibly be so fatal as the *facts* which have been recorded in these way-marks, and which we now supplement by recording the rejection of the following preamble and resolutions by one of those Congregational Churches and three of those ministers:

Assembled as we are agreeably to the Proclamation of our President, to pray for the blessing of Almighty God on our beloved country, we deem it right and proper that we make known our views and feelings in regard to the dreadful war now raging in our country, and also as to its cause or causes. And, therefore,

1. Resolved, That the practice of slavery in our country has fostered, matured and developed, sentiments and conduct hostile to liberty, and that the ripened fruit thereof is now seen in the sacrilegious and mighty endeavor to overthrow our God-given government, and destroy the liberties of our nation.

2. That the seed and core of this rebellion is slavery, and that the most effectual and decisive blows against it, are those aimed at and striking the guilty cause.

3. That in this war we view God as having risen up to judge and condemn slavery, and that the whole nation is now suffering the judgments of God for its complicity in that sin; and that God is speaking to us in his Providence, *to come out and be separate, that we be not partakers of its plagues.*

4. That no terms or conditions of peace will meet our approval, which leave the leprosy of slavery fastened to our nation, to pollute the pure fountain of liberty, and send forth its poisonous streams to desolate this fair heritage of freedom, procured for us by our venerated fathers laying on its altar their treasure and their lives.

As might be expected in a community where the Church and the ministry set such an example of moral poltroonery as is shown in the rejection of the foregoing admirable Paper, there are not wanting among the people semi-secession snobs and cringing conservatists of slavery, that kiss the hand of power, and curse the Abolitionists who are only (they say) worrying the government with useless petitions, the yelping pack; commend the Presidential modification of Fremont's masterly proclamation; find sense and wisdom in the publication to the world of the nonsense of such an unheard-of report as that of Adjutant-General Thomas from the West; applaud the superseding of the truest live hero left to us; excuse the inactivity of our wonderful young General with his brave army on the Potomac, sighing to be led to victory, but resting on their arms at the cost to the nation of a million of dollars a day; justify the Executive Head of a great nation whose very heart is struck at by the envenomed dagger of the Slave Power, in dallying with the daughter of Herodias as she dances out before him from the Border States, and in promising with an oath to give her whatsoever she may ask, though it be John Baptist's head in a charger, if she will be but faithful to the dear old Union, which he is bound to save by sparing slavery, and expurgating from official reports whatever makes against it, and by dispensing even with his War Secretary, if the harlot ask it.

To such incredible meanness, and worse, perhaps, yet to be in the Mason and Slidell rendition, has slavery reduced a submissive people, whose ministers and Churches have for years been leading the way in servile subserviency to the Slave Power. The melancholy history makes good again the lines of Cowper:

"When God will punish nations for their sins,
'Tis IN THE CHURCH THE LEPROSY BEGINS."

Dec. 28th, 1861.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

From The Liberator.

THIS Anniversary was held as usual at the Music Hall, on the 22d of January, and was successful beyond the anticipation of the ladies who gave out the invitations. The travelling was very bad, and the state of the atmosphere such as to take all elasticity from the spirits of men; yet the large Hall was very full. Considering the hard pressure of the times, and the numerous demands now made on individual benevolence, the donations were liberal. Most of our old friends remembered us, and in letters of warmest sympathy bade us God speed, regretting that the circumstances of the country rendered it necessary to diminish their customary contributions. All these letters expressed, more or less earnestly, a deep conviction that the Abolitionists of the old school ought not to discontinue or abate their exertions. This conviction is founded on the fact that the community in general are sadly deficient in sentiments of justice and humanity toward the slaves; and therefore whenever the time of emancipation comes, there is great danger that little or no attention will be paid to their welfare and improvement. The habit of believing only the masters' statements, and of regarding only the masters' interests, has become so inveterate, that a constant and energetic exertion of moral influence is needed to counteract it, or at least to modify it. We cordially thank our friends, one and all, for the pecuniary aid they have given us to carry on this righteous work, and also for their letters of sympathy and good counsel.

One of the most interesting features of the meeting was the presence of Mr. Davis, a highly intelligent dark brown man from Fortress Monroe; one of those of whom we have heard so much under the name of "contrabands." It is touching in the extreme to hear this man tell how earnest was his desire to learn to read the Bible, and how diligently he applied himself to the task, with the help of his master's little son. God be praised that the secret prayers and smothered aspirations of struggling millions at last find their way to the ears of all the people! Thanks to the Father of ALL that the old Abolitionists have been permitted to be HIS humble agents in this great work! May HE enable us to endure unto the end.

A more full and detailed report of the meeting, with acknowledgments of the contributions made on the occasion in behalf of the Anti-Slavery cause, may be expected in a future paper. Our friends will be glad to hear that, after deducting all expenses, which were lighter this year than usual, the sum of not less than THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS will be realized to the American Anti-Slavery Society. It is proper to state, that in that amount are included all the payments which have been made during the last four or five months, in response to the call for contributions in *advance* of the 28th Anniversary—which payments amounted to about eight hundred dollars, exclusive of special donations in aid of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

PERSONAL.

Messrs. Fowler and Wells, the celebrated Phrenologists, have been lecturing to large audiences in Great Britain. The Irish papers speak of their lectures as being, in the highest degree, instructive and interesting.

The Saturday Courier contradicts the statement, made by us last week on the authority of another paper, that Mr. George E. Baker is the author of the article in *The Continental Monthly* on Mr. Seward's Diplomacy. It says the article was written by A. Oakey Hall, Esq., of this city.

Dr. Cheever, we understand, has received an invitation, signed by thirty or forty members of the Senate and House, to preach three or four successive Sundays in Washington, with special reference to the discussion, on religious grounds, of the question of slavery as connected with the war. He has accepted this invitation, and another also from members of the Pennsylvania Legislature inviting him to deliver a lecture on slavery and the war at Harrisburg. These invitations are certainly signs of progress that may well cheer the friends of the slave.

In a recent letter, Fredrika Bremer says:

"In my home I am surrounded by memories both from east and west. Some of these last have come to me during my last long journey—good and beautiful books—which now enrich my spiritual stores. Among these is a great work by Mrs. Child—'Progress of Religious Ideas.' I do not know who the giver is; but whoever it is, I thank him or her most truly and cordially. I am of different opinions with the authoress as to the specific character of the religious revelation, and its relation to other Christian creeds and institutions, but I do heartily appreciate the honest, diligent and able works she has published. She has worked faithfully and well in her allotted part, and will be blessed for it here and hereafter. My work on Palestine and Turkey will be out this week, both here and in England. I have in it also taken a survey of several historical religions and creeds, and of their relations to Christianity, and attempted to present these things under a popular, and to every thinking soul, familiar form. In speaking out my own most dear convictions, I hope I have not failed in a spirit of appreciation and love for truthful minds of different opinions from my own."

Ralph Waldo Emerson delivered the lecture at the Smithsonian in Washington on Friday evening, the 31st ult. The correspondent of *The Evening Post* says:

"Mr. Emerson found it impossible to secure a room or a bed in any of the leading hotels in Washington. Willard's was full, not a place left for even a carpet-bag. Not a room at the National, or at the Metropolitan, late Brown's; and for a time it seemed as if the distinguished lecturer would have to go back to Massachusetts without delivering his discourse. A dozen private houses were open to him, but he makes it an invariable rule on his lecturing tours never to accept the hospitalities of friends. At last accomodations were obtained in the Washington hotel, and on Friday evening the lecture was delivered to a large and brilliant audience at the Smithsonian Institute. It was upon the subject of American Civilization, and it examined very thoroughly the subject of slavery and its connection with the war. The audience received it as they have the other anti-slavery lectures of the course—with unbounded enthusiasm. It was in many respects a wonderful lecture, and those who have often heard Mr. Emerson said it was one of his very best efforts, and that he seemed inspired through nearly the whole of it, especially the part referring to slavery and the war. Mr. Channing, an old companion of Emerson, sat behind the lecturer on the platform, as I believe he did when Mr. Curtis was upon the same rostrum."

"HANGMAN DAVIS."—*The Journal of Commerce* thus records its opinion of the pro-slavery speech recently made in the U. S. Senate by Garret Davis of Kentucky.

"Hon. Garret Davis, the Senator from Kentucky, delivered in the Senate on Thursday, an eloquent and brilliant speech. In dignity, simplicity and conclusiveness, it contrasted admirably with the abolition harangues, to which it was a reply."

As a specimen of what passes with *The Journal of Commerce* for "dignity, simplicity and conclusiveness," take the following passage from the Kentucky Senator's speech—a passage which should forever affix to his name the epithet, "hangman":

"Mr. President, these fanatics, these political and social demons, your Beechers, your Cheevers, your Phillipses, and your Garrisons, come here breathing pestilence from Pandemonium, trying to destroy the Union, so as to secure over its broken fragments the emancipation of slaves. They oppose Mr. Lincoln, as honest and pure a man as ever lived, because he stands by the Constitution, and is opposed to interfering with slavery. The utterances they have dared to put forth in this city have desecrated the Smithsonian Institution. If the secessionists had dared to give expression to the same utterances they would have been sent, and properly sent, to Fort Lafayette or Fort Warren. What will you do with these monsters? I will tell you what I would do with them, and with that horrible monster Greeley, as they come sneaking around here, like hungry wolves, after the destruction of slavery. If I had the power, I would take them and the worst secesh ers and hang them in pairs (laughter). I wish to God I could inflict that punishment upon them. It would be just. They are the disunionists. They are the madmen who are willing to call up all the passions of the infernal regions, and all the horrors of a servile war. This they would carry out over the disjected fragments of a broken Constitution to obtain their unholy purposes, and I am too fearful that the Hon. Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Sumner) sympathizes with them."

Sweet-tempered, dignified, simple conservatism! Always calm and judicious, never swayed by passion, but forever setting the "fanatics" an example of gentleness and freedom from unworthy personalties!

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 3, 1862.

To see Ralph Waldo Emerson on the platform of a lecture-room, anywhere and upon any subject, is a pleasure, and indeed a delight, but to hear him upon American Civilization, upon American Slavery, *in Washington*, is something more than an ordinary gratification; and so thought hundreds of people here, who last Friday night crowded the lecture-room of the Smithsonian Institute. The hall was crowded, and for an hour and a half the audience sat spell-bound while the slowly-uttered but precious sentences fell like diamonds from the speaker's lips. He touched the slavery question in his peculiar way, and in a few words spoke volumes. Lovejoy sat on the platform, in the rear of the speaker, and was apparently as happy a man as one would meet in a day's journey. Whenever it was possible to break through the golden thread of the discourse, the audience gave vent to their delight in cheers; but if you remember Emerson's style of speaking, it is rather difficult to interrupt it with rough applause. But when the slavery question was touched upon, and the orator declared boldly, yet in quiet, gentle tones, that there was but one way out of our difficulties, and that was by the emancipation of the slave, the audience *would* applaud, to the discomfort of a few pro-slavery people in the audience. "Well," said one man in the back part of the hall, "for one, I don't want to hear any more lectures upon *national* subjects!" But this was not the feeling of but a very few persons present, and it was a splendid audience in numbers, intellect, and character. It is certainly a wonderful fact to record, that such an audience on slave soil received with enthusiasm the boldest doctrines of emancipation. But the people who gather to hear the series of anti-slavery lectures at the Smithsonian are somewhat ahead of the men at the head of the government and the gentlemen who make the laws of the nation.

And this brings me to consider for a moment the condition of things in Congress respecting the slavery question. The debate upon it goes on in the Senate and in the House. Scarcely a debate springs up on any subject which does not involve slavery in some shape or other. In the Senate the Bright case has continually brought out side debates upon the character of slavery and its connection with the rebellion. Southern men even continually allude to the subject, though they invariably charge the Republicans with agitating it. So far as the speeches delivered in Congress give an indication of the strength of sentiment, it is evident that anti-slavery has a stronger foothold in the Senate than in the House of Representatives. In the Senate a majority, a decided majority, I think, favor pretty radical legislation on this whole question. But in the House it is more doubtful. A class of Republicans will unite with Democrats to stave off any action upon emancipation measures. Diven of New York, nominally a Republican, is really worse than two dozen Democrats. He is pro-slavery, but pretends to be a Republican. He tries every few days to give his Republican fellow-members a lecture upon their dangerous tendencies, and pats some border State representative upon the back, because he is good enough to keep himself from joining the rebel army. The House Committee on the District of Columbia will not (so I hear at least) report a bill in favor of emancipation in this District. The Senate Committee *will* probably report a bill for this purpose, and it has a respectable chance of passing the Senate. Mr. Wilson has a bill already on the calendar for this purpose. One section appropriates the sum of one million of dollars to compensate loyal slave-masters within the limits of the District, affected by the act. This section will be strongly opposed by two or three radical Senators, upon the ground that slavery has no legal existence here, even taking the interpretation of leading Republicans, and not necessarily following in the track of Mr. Goodell. It is clear enough to anyone who has examined into the subject that slavery is not guaranteed by any enactment, within this District. Even Senator Pearce of Maryland says, if the common law of England will not sustain slavery here, there is nothing to keep it from the ground. What Northern man, Democrat or Republican, believes that slavery exists by the common law? Certainly no decent, respectable Northern man entertains such an opinion.

I am sorry to write, but am compelled to say, that the feeling increases here that Gen. McClellan is unfit for the position he occupies. He is not and never was a bold man, say a large class of men. He is not a great and comprehensive General. He has the faculty to drill troops well, and to make out of poor troops good troops. But he has no confidence in his own powers, and lacks dash, courage, and that inspiration which often saves armies and nations in a day. These are the criticisms and sayings of important and influential personages here. You will have noticed Mr. Gurley's attack upon McClellan. Very likely it was in bad taste, perhaps it should not have been made, but some of his facts are startling. Men who have known McClellan from his boyhood say that he is not a bold man. Does it not require boldness to deal successfully with the rebellion? The anxiety of the people to have something done immediately which shall have a decided effect upon the rebels does not arise from impatience, but a well-grounded fear that if something is not done soon, foreign powers will interfere to prevent any further attempt to crush the rebellion down. The sentiment against McClellan gathers force daily *here*, however it may be elsewhere, and it would make itself felt to a greater extent in Congress and the newspaper press, were it not for the desire to give every chance in the world to the young General, and the fear that if the people lose confidence in McClellan they will give up the conflict in despair. If there were anybody *to take his place*, if we had a great General anywhere, McClellan would not continue in command of the armies of the United States for twenty-four hours. As it is, be not surprised if he should very soon take command of the army of the Potomac simply, leaving the command of the Western army and the forces on the rebel seacoast to the care of the President, aided by Secretary Stanton. There is talk of this about Washington, but the change may not occur. The Southern Confederacy gives to no single General the command of all the armies. The President and his advisers manage that general supervision of all the military departments themselves. This will possibly be the case here. But there can be no immediate fighting. The bad weather for the last three weeks has put the roads in a shocking condition, and nothing can be done for some time. It is quite possible that we may have good weather and decent roads by the first of March, but the rains of April again will make them next to impassable. A humorous old gentleman, who understands the weather of this latitude perfectly, remarked the other day, "The Lord gave you a whole month of splendid weather in midwinter, *on purpose* that you might give the rebels a thrashing, and you wouldn't improve it. Now you have lost your chance, and can't complain if you are beaten!"

The conduct of the Administration towards Gen. Lane excites indignation here. He held a seat in the U. S. Senate, which had just been declared to be his by a decisive vote of his fellow-Senators, and gave it up to go to Kansas and take command of an army. He was most distinctly assured by the President that he should have an independent command, that he should have the opportunity of trying his mode of dealing with rebels, by himself. But no sooner does he reach Kansas than he finds that Gen. Hunter is to take command of the Southern Expedition which was to have been given to him, Lane; and he has his choice—to remain quietly in Kansas, or fight under Hunter. It certainly *looks* as if the Administration, having got rid of a man from the Senate whom it feared, had left him to ruin at home. But it cannot be that the President would break his word with any man—it cannot be that he would permit McClellan, or any member of his Cabinet, to place him in a dishonorable position, and we must hope for a speedy explanation of the matter. Although our national affairs look very dark, Mrs. Lincoln is determined to have a gay time, and has sent out cards for a dancing party at the White House. It is an unusual occurrence in times of peace, but she has selected this darkest hour of the Republic for fiddling and dancing at the Presidential mansion. It is fit and proper that the most favored of her guests should be Mr. and Mrs. James Gordon Bennett. So we go. If we cannot fight, let us show the world that we can dance.

AVON.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 27, 1862.

IT is interesting to observe the friendly rivalry exhibited by the different Northern States in their efforts to put down the rebellion. The Governor of each dilates, in his annual message, upon the money voted and the men furnished—the promptness of action manifested, and the ardor of zeal still maintained, by his particular Commonwealth. This is well, and augurs favorably for the future of the republic. It is much better than the old humdrum sordid story of "house added to house, and barn to barn"; of new Railroads, new Canals, new dock-yards, new sources of revenue, and new evidences of material growth. Commerce, as Daniel Webster used to say of religion, "is a very good thing in its place," and so is national prosperity; but when the one becomes the glory of the State, and the other the boast of its people, they are both a curse, and their tendency is to degradation. They beget an incorrigible trading spirit, which obtrudes itself everywhere, sapping the foundations of honor, and laying waste all that is beautiful in national character. Among its consequences are, sordidness in the Church and venality in the Legislature; corruption in high places, and low ideas of honor among the people.

When nations, like individuals, become bloated with prosperity, their only hope of salvation is in a counter gale of adversity. Our calamities have come just in time to save us; delayed a little while longer, and our condition would have been hopeless. Like other besotted nations, of which we read, we should have been consumed from the face of the earth by our own excesses, and nothing would have been left of us but the stench of our memory to serve as a warning to those coming after us.

The chief peril through which this country is now passing comes from the sordid habits which long years of successful money-getting have engendered. Embarrassed finances are the present trouble of our national rulers. The nation is plundered by its professed friends; and, the worst of it is, that many of those self-considered friends have no idea that they are doing anything out of the way. We are a mercantile people; a jobbing, bargain-making people. We are sprung from a "nation of shop-keepers," and have improved upon our ancestry. The spirit of trade is in our bones. When our country calls, we fly to the rescue, of course; but we take the shop with us. We become colonels and chaplains; war-clerks and navy-clerks; loyal Unionists we are, and implacable foes to rebellion; but always traders; buyers and sellers, with an unclosable eye to the main chance. The nation is dancing to the tune of two millions a day! Our mercantile men, wholesale and retail, having lost their customers, now sell to Uncle Sam; and they make him pay roundly for all he gets. Two millions a day, and a dim prospect of replenished coffers! The exchequer doctors are puzzled. What's to be done? "Stop the leaks." Easier said than done; but the work is attempted. Whence come these leaks? From the prevalence of jobbery. And whence comes this spirit of jobbery? From the all-prevalent, church-justified, usage-sanctioned, but God-accursed lust of trade, that has been eating as doth a cancer at the heart of this nation for the last forty years; and which is now exhibiting itself in enormities which fill all beholders with disgust. Thank God for this disgust; it is a sign of a healthful reaction. It will increase till filchers from the public crib shall be driven away covered with scorn, and the people shall have unlearned the false lessons of advantage vainly supposed to accrue from accumulated lucre. National calamities, the legitimate result of national crime, are means employed in the economy of Providence for a nation's regeneration. This nation is now in the fiery furnace; and the process of purification is going on. We are being purged from our dross; and, in the matter of money-loving, the signs of incipient reform are encouraging. The guns fired at Sumter began the work of disenchantment. Merchants left their wares, and farmers their fields; and the people generally rose at once above the power of pelf. But the love of gain still retains its hold on many, as the nation knows to its sorrow, and nothing but fire will unclose its grasp.

But I am digressing. I commenced with a remark upon the friendly emulation manifested by the different States, in their zeal to preserve the integrity and promote the honor of the republic. This is a rivalry in which the pleasure derived by each State from the report of its neighbors' good deeds is only inferior to that which it enjoys from a rehearsal of its own. The evidence of public virtue and private disinterestedness, as set forth by Governor Morgan, can hardly be more gratifying to you than it is to us; while the pride we Pennsylvanians have in the princely munificence of Boston, and the liberality of Massachusetts generally, is as sincere in kind if not as high in degree, as that which is felt by the most loyal son of the old Bay State.

If we Pennsylvanians have felt a somewhat peculiar gratification at the developments made within our borders during the last year, it has been because, as Abolitionists, we have had peculiar reason. The land of Penn, once illustrious from its enlightened love of freedom and its heroic deeds in the cause of justice, had become a very Bœotia. The State whose Abolition Act eighty years ago was the praise of Europe; which established the first Abolition Society that ever had an existence; which took the lead in all organized efforts to abolish slavery, had become so degenerate, so false to her principles, so besotted by slavery and slaveholders within and around her, that when the modern anti-slavery movement was started, she threw herself into the imminent breach, and became the chief defence and support of the baleful system. Her honored soil became hunting-ground for slave-catchers, and legislators and Congressmen supple tools in the hands of the oppressor. So zealous was her new-born devotion, and so constant did she prove in her attachment to the South, that, in the Convention that nominated her "favorite son" for the Presidency, the faithful henchman of that unworthy creature pledged his State, in case of disunion, to continued adhesion to the fortunes of the slaveholding Confederates. "*Where thou goest I will go,*" was the emphatic language which Pennsylvania was made to hold to the South on that memorable occasion. Happily, this promise was not destined to be fulfilled; nor, even at that time, was it likely to be. But, years before, when the contingency of dissolution was contemplated, we Abolitionists had many heart-sinkings lest, when the event should take place, Pennsylvania would elect to go with the slaveholders. Pro-slavery men, North and South, confidently predicted that this would happen. Commodore Stockton went so far as to publish a programme, according to which Pennsylvania and New Jersey were to be included in the probable new slaveholding Confederacy.

The sufferings of Pennsylvania Abolitionists during those times were not trifling. I don't allude now to external sufferings; mobbings, peltings, and the like. That was nothing; but the internal trials—such as shame, mortification and humiliation, in view of the degenerate, profligate and corrupt public sentiment of the State. The people seemed incorrigible; and the preaching of Abolitionists was, to appearance, like water spilled upon the rock. At such times the hearts of our anti-slavery men, at least of such as felt that the care and cure of the State had in a measure been committed to them, sunk like lead within them, and the distress thereof was hard to bear. Everywhere else the cause seemed to make better progress than in Pennsylvania.

But now things have happily almost radically changed. Our good old State is returning to her good old ways. She is resuming the position she occupied in the early days of the government. She is retracing her steps, and is now as far on the way back as the place she occupied in 1820, when she resisted the Missouri Compromise; and soon, I trust, will be at the point on which she stood in 1780, when she reduced to practice the motto on her State House bell: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

We are to be excused, Mr. Editor, if we felicitate ourselves a little at the auspicious change that has been wrought in the Old Key Stone. Pennsylvania has of late acquitted herself handsomely. Last winter, when the clamor for compromise was loudest, she refused to repeal, modify or change in the slightest degree her Personal Liberty bill. Delegations from this city and elsewhere implored her only to *seem* to change that obnoxious law; but she would not erase the dot of an "i" or the cross of a "t." When in April the President issued his proclamation, Pennsylvania was first on the ground to defend the threatened Capital. Her Legislature was the first to vote an appropriation of money in aid of the Federal Treasury. The half million which she then gave was only an earnest of what she intended, as was proved by her vote of three million soon afterwards. According to the Annual Message of Governor Curtin (who has proved himself an able, faithful and energetic officer), Pennsylvania contributed 20,175 volunteers for the three months' service, being a larger number than was contributed by any other State, and nearly one-third more than her quota. Exclusive of these, she contributed, up to Jan. 1st, 1862, 109,615 men "for the war"; being also a larger number than was contributed up to that time by any other State, and still nearly a third more than her quota. Governor Curtin says, in the message referred to: "Pennsylvania has made great efforts to support the government. She has given more men, and better clothed and better equipped men than any other State, and has far exceeded her quota of the military levies. The sons of our best citizens, young men of education and means, fill the ranks of her volunteer regiments."

Having mentioned the good behavior of our Legislature, it is but just to say that our delegates to Congress, as a whole, have also done well. We are no longer represented at Washington by doughfaces. Hickman, Stevens and Grow; Kelley, Verree and Davis; Campbell, Covode, Moorehead and McPherson; and other Pennsylvania delegates, will bear comparison with the representatives from any other State. In the Senate the name of Wilmot will link our Commonwealth with the best passages in the history of the country. What our new Senator will prove remains to seen. His opposition to the expulsion of the traitorous Bright does not augur well; but we would fain hope that this is not to be a sample of his future Senatorial career. In the Cabinet, the boldest anti-slavery measure yet advocated by an Administrative member was proposed by a Secretary from, and representing, Pennsylvania. The successor in office to that Secretary, also from Pennsylvania, is said to hold, and to mean to act upon, principles equally hostile to the peculiar system. In the army we have companies—if not regiments—of anti-slavery Presbyterians from the west of the State, of anti-slavery Quakers from the east, and anti-slavery Yankees from the North; the aggregate constituting as large a body of Abolitionists, officers and privates, as comes from any other State.

These things being so, we are no longer ashamed of our well-loved old Commonwealth. We are even a little proud of her, as in comparison with what she has been in times past. Mr. Garrison talks fondly of the "Old Bay State," and of "glorious old Massachusetts," and rings his changes (which we like to hear) on Concord, Lexington and Bunker Hill; and Wendell Phillips tells us, with many iterations—showing that he don't care who knows it—that "Massachusetts is the brain of the Union"; why then may not we, Pennsylvanians, be indulged in a word of qualified praise of the sturdy old Key Stone? Especially when we omit the "glorious," and make no allusion to Brandywine, Germantown or Valley Forge; and don't intimate that Pennsylvania even has a "brain" (albeit a reference to the Patent Office reports and to the proportion of patents granted to this State, will show that Pennsylvania is not *altogether* acephalous). I say, if the Nestor and Coryphæus of our movement may indulge in a complacent allusion to their own State, why should not the same privilege be accorded to us? "Seeing that many glory after the flesh, I will glory also." Excess of modesty is not good; and habits of self-depreciation should be checked before they become chronic.

M.

THE HUTCHINSON VOCALISTS (Asa and family) gave a concert, on the evening of the 31st ult., at Dodworth's Hall, to a full and appreciative audience. They sang many old and some new pieces—a portion of them pathetic, others humorous, others patriotic. In the latter class may be included Whittier's hymn,

"We wait beneath the furnace-blast,"

for singing which John Hutchinson and family were expelled by Gen. McClellan from the camps on the Potomac. The most touching, however, of their songs was "The Slave Mother," adapted to that simple but very pathetic air, "Over the mountain and over the moor." Under the influence of this strain the feelings of many in the audience found vent in tears. On Thursday evening of the present week these favorite vocalists give a concert at the Church of the Puritans, for the benefit of the New York Ladies' Educational Union—an association having for its object the care and instruction of the daughters of soldiers who may be killed or disabled in the present war. The concert will be opened by an address from Rev. Dr. Tyng.

All that we have said in another place of the branch of the Hutchinson Family lately expelled from the army lines on the Potomac is equally true of the one now here, and we hope the friends of the anti-slavery cause in this city will encourage the latter as well as the former by crowding the places where they sing.

BARNUM AND HIS NUTT.—The indefatigable and inimitable Barnum, who delights in pleasing the public as much as in putting money in his purse, has just made a very important addition to the collection of curiosities in the American Museum. He has found a specimen of manhood in miniature, smaller even than the renowned General Tom Thumb, and quite as intelligent and good-looking. The name of the little fellow is George Washington Nutt, and he comes from Manchester, in "the old Granite State." Mr. Barnum has honored him with a commission as Commodore—"Commodore Nutt"—in which capacity he was presented to the patrons of the Museum on Monday last. For the privilege of exhibiting him for the short term of three years, Mr. Barnum pays $30,000; and after this large investment and the addition of so interesting a curiosity to the previous attractions of the Museum, he adds nothing to the price for which the public are admitted to his establishment. Great is Barnum, and George Washington Nutt is his Commodore! Standing side by side, they present a contrast in physical proportions like that between an elephant and a mouse. It's a comfort to know that the Commodore, with all his bravery and genius, is unequivocally on the side of the North in the effort to put down the rebellion; and we will not impeach his patriotism and common sense by doubting that he coincides with Mr. Barnum in the belief that the best way to do this is to remove the cause.

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held on Thursday afternoon, the 13th inst., at the Assembly Building, corner of 10th and Chestnut streets. This is stated in a notice which we publish in another column; but it is not stated, as we think it should be, that on that occasion Miss MARY GREW, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, will read her Annual Report. This is as much as to say that the meeting will be one of more than ordinary interest, and that a great treat will await those who shall be in attendance. The invitation to be present is extended not only to members of the Society, but to all others, interested in the cause.

GERRIT SMITH, in his letter to GEORGE THOMPSON, which we have placed on the first page, takes a somewhat peculiar if not original view of the Trent affair and of the relations between Great Britain and the United States. Some of our American readers will probably agree with him, while others will doubtless dissent from some of his opinions; but our readers on both sides of the Atlantic will be interested in learning the views of a man who has been so long and so earnestly devoted to the anti-slavery cause, and in whom the love of truth and humanity is paramount to national prejudice.

THE HUTCHINSON FAMILY (John, Henry, Frank and Viola) are announced in the Philadelphia papers for two concerts, to be given in that city; one on Friday evening, the 7th inst., at Concert Hall, in Chestnut street, and the other on Monday evening, the 10th inst., at National Hall, in Market street. They are also to sing at a meeting to be held at National Hall, on Sunday evening, the 9th inst., on which occasion their friend Mr. Merriam, who has been laboring for the last six months in the army, will deliver an address on Temperance.

These sweet singers need no commendation from us. Their extraordinary endowments as melodists, and their equally extraordinary fidelity to the cause as Abolitionists, give them claims upon the friends of freedom which no anti-slavery man will be disposed to dispute. In their recent campaign at Washington and across the Potomac, they have rendered service, the value of which has been attested by men standing high in the National government. Their prolonged stay at the Capital, and their great popularity at public and private concerts, furnish proof at the same time of their power as vocalists, and of the great change which has taken place in public opinion. They sing of Liberty, Patriotism and Union; topics which at this time engross every mind. We bespeak for them a general hearing from our friends in Philadelphia.

A BLACK MAN'S VIEW OF THE WAR.—Frederick Douglass will deliver a lecture on the War, at the Cooper Institute, on Wednesday evening next. Multitudes, we think, will be glad to hear what a black man thinks of the Rebellion and the way to put it down. As a speaker, moreover, Mr. Douglass ranks high, and we presume he will have an overflowing house. Admittance 25 cents.

CONGRESS—THE WAR.—We must refer our readers this week to other papers for the Proceedings of Congress and "Chronicles of the War." We have matter prepared for publication under each of these heads, but it is not very important, and space is precious.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

CHRIST THE SPIRIT: Being an attempt to state the Primitive view of Christianity. New York: James Miller. 1861.

Some time ago we received two volumes bearing the title above quoted, and can hardly do more than confess the impossibility of saying anything adequate concerning them within the limits of a book notice. Christ the Spirit is one of those logical consequences of Protestantism which must be met, as best it may, by those having in charge the theologies of the Churches. The author does wisely, as we think, in commending his book to no one who is able to accept the New Testament in a literal and historical sense; though, at the same time, there is soundness in his observation that "a faith which is afraid of being disturbed by new inquiry can hardly claim to be founded on substantial truth." The book is written in a spirit of modesty and reverence which should offend no man who is not determined to be offended at any conscientious questioning of what Christian Churches assume. The theory advocated will interest many more than can be convinced of its truth. Indeed, we frankly state that the work has only confirmed us in a view of the Sacred Writings opposed to that for which the author argues. He has attempted to show that in the gospel narratives of the New Testament we have a representation of the LIFE OR SPIRIT of the Hebrew Sacred Books, according to the interpretation of a secret society forbidden to express their doctrines except by allegory and symbol. This society, he thinks, was that of the Essenes, well known to scholars in the descriptions of Philo and Josephus. That the Scriptures are Hermetic in their character is by no means a new belief; it is precisely this assumption which nourishes the loftiest spiritualism of the followers of Swedenborg, and supplies the latter-day pyrotechny of Cummings and Miller. But our author's view of this Hermeticism is more like that which Niebuhr takes of early Roman history, and very much like that which our gifted countrywoman, Miss Bacon, *proposed to take* of Shakspeare's plays. He examines figure and symbol in the spirit of a true adept; his speculations are curious and original, and his citations will, to most persons, be new and interesting. Without entering into the question to what extent it is worth while to root up old feelings to supply their place with less productive facts, we have no hesitation in saying that those who conceive themselves to read with profit the works of modern liberal thinkers should not omit Christ the Spirit. We can also say of the book—what is not always to be said of American productions of the higher sort—that the writer has evidently *studied* for it, not *crammed* for it. ✶

SEEDS AND SHELLS: A Sermon, preached in New York, Nov. 17, 1861, by O. B. FROTHINGHAM.

The thought which runs through this discourse, and which the preacher applies in a very beautiful and striking way to the present state of affairs in this country, is this: That as the shells or coverings of plants are designed to protect their seeds, so the human body is but the capsule in which the spiritual forces of the being are sheltered and preserved, and laws and constitutions but the *forms* created by the Spirit of Justice, to be broken or destroyed when they can no longer serve the end of their creation. "There is no exception," says the preacher, "to this law of moral growth. No institution that man can devise—let it be as impos

Miscellaneous Department.

TO ENGLISHMEN.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

You flung your taunt across the wave;
We bore it as became us,
Well knowing that the fettered slave
Left friendly lips no option save
To pity or to blame us.

You scoffed our plea. "Mere lack of will
Not lack of power," you told us:
We showed our free-state records; still
You mocked, confounding good and ill,
Slave-haters and slaveholders.

We struck at Slavery; to the verge
Of power and means we checked it:
Lo!—presto, change! its claims you urge,
Send greetings to it o'er the surge,
And comfort and protect it.

But yesterday you scarce could shake,
In slave-abhorring rigor,
Our Northern palms, for conscience' sake:
To-day you clasp the hands that ache
With "wallopping the nigger!"*

O Englishmen!—in hope and creed,
In blood and tongue our brothers!
We too are heirs of Runnymede;
And Shakspeare's fame, and Cromwell's deed,
Are not alone our mother's.

"Thicker than water" in one rill
Through centuries of story
Our Saxon blood has flowed, and still
We share with you its good and ill,
The shadow and the glory.

Joint heirs and kinfolk, leagues of wave
Nor length of years can part us:
Your right is ours to shrine and grave,
The common freehold of the brave,
The gift of saints and martyrs.

Our very sins and follies teach
Our kindred frail and human:
We carp at faults with bitter speech,
The while for one unshared by each
We have a score in common.

We bowed the heart if not the knee
To England's Queen, God bless her!
We praised you when your slaves went free:
We seek to unchain ours. Will ye
Join hands with the oppressor?—

And is it Christian England cheers
The bruiser, not the bruised?
And must she run, despite the tears
And prayers of eighteen hundred years,
A muck in Slavery's crusade?

Oh black disgrace! oh, shame and loss
Too deep for tongue to phrase on!
Tear from your flag its holy cross,
And in your van of battle toss
The pirate's skull-bone blazon!

—*Independent.*

* See English caricatures of America: Slaveholder and cowhide, with the motto, "Haven't I a right to wallop my nigger?"

PEACE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

SPEECH OF GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ.

[We have before us, in *The Tower Hamlets Express* of Jan. 18, a full report of the proceedings of a large and influential public meeting, held in the Lecture-hall, Bromley-by-Bow, London, Saturday evening, Jan. 11th, "for the purpose of giving practical expression to the pleasure which pervaded all classes of the community in consequence of the receipt of the gratifying intelligence that the dreadful prospect of war with the United States has been averted." HARPER TWELVETREES, Esq., presided and made the opening address, and was followed by JOHN NOBLE, Esq., Rev. W. H. BONNER, GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq., Mr. C. E. GARMAM, Sr., F. W. CHESSON, Esq., and Mr. HERBERT THOMPSON. The crowded state of our columns alone prevents us from publishing the report entire. We can only make room for the address of GEORGE THOMPSON, with an extract or two from those of the other speakers.]

MR. THOMPSON'S SPEECH.

Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON was received with the most enthusiastic applause, which having subsided, he said he had come to the meeting prepared with the following resolution, which he requested permission to submit:

"That in addition to recording its profound satisfaction at the happy termination of the late dispute with the government of the United States, this meeting deems it its duty to ascribe the chief merit of its pacific adjustment to the moderation, justice, and high-mindedness of the Cabinet of Washington, and more especially to the statesmanlike ability and adhesion to principle of the Hon. William H. Seward, the Secretary of State, and would further express its thankfulness that, by this wise settlement of the Trent affair, this nation has not only been saved from the horrors of a war with its Transatlantic kinsmen, but from an alliance with a Confederacy based upon human slavery and the alleged inferiority of the races, and from virtually taking sides with those who hold four million of persons (many thousands of whom are their own offspring) in the most debasing physical, moral, and intellectual bondage—a bondage which this meeting trusts has already received an irreparable blow, and will speedily be brought to a perpetual end" (cheers).

In submitting the resolution, Mr. Thompson observed that, in common with his countrymen at large, his mind had been relieved of the most painful apprehensions by the intelligence brought by the last mail from America; he had also experienced a feeling of exultation in the thought that those who for six weeks had been assiduously endeavoring to provoke a war between two kindred nations had been foiled in their wicked attempt to make England the ally of a band of infamous conspirators against their own government and the liberties of the human race (cheers). There was to be no war with America; but no thanks to that portion of the press of this country that had prostituted its influence in the cause of slaveholders, felons, and traitors. He had read the daily diatribes of certain journals, first, with the eyes of an Englishman, and then with the eyes of an American. As an Englishman, he felt that his country had been disgraced by these venomous and brutal effusions, and if he had been an American, and had thought that such articles were a true expression of British feeling, he should have desired the chastisement and humiliation of such a people (hear, hear). No thanks, then, to the press, that we had peace instead of war, excepting always those organs of the true principles of English patriotism which had, despite the slanderous opposition of a host of venal contemporaries, maintained their ground and spoken the language of courtesy and conciliation with such unflinching fidelity (loud cheers). No thanks, either to the government of this country, if it should appear that for three or four weeks they had been in possession of the assurance of the Cabinet of Washington that a peaceful settlement of the question was earnestly desired. In Mr. Seward's dispatch of the 30th November there was a clear disavowal of the act of the United States officer (cheers)—there was a distinct proposal to come to a friendly and amicable settlement of the question. Now, it was morally certain that the contents of this letter had been communicated to the British government, and that without delay. It was not conceivable that that which was obviously intended for the information of the British Cabinet would be kept back by the American Minister; yet the ministerial organs had, for four weeks subsequent to the arrival of this important document in this country, continued, daily, to influence the passions of the people, by representing that there was a deliberate design on the part of Mr. Seward to go to war with England; and a million of money, or more, had been spent in preparing for a bloody conflict with the people of the United States. If this should prove to be the case, there were no words sufficiently strong in which to denounce the criminality of such an act, and the Minister guilty of it would merit impeachment by the House of Commons (loud cheers). If he possessed a seat in the Legislature of the country, he would not lose an hour after the meeting of Parliament, in demanding categorical information upon the whole subject, and in fixing the blame upon the official by whose guilt or neglect the country had suffered a month of unnecessary doubt and anxiety (hear, hear). No thanks, then, he repeated, to the government of England. But we had, nevertheless, great reason to be thankful for having been saved from a collision with America. There would, in such a contingency, have been not only all the horrors inseparable from war, but added to them an inconceivable anguish to the minds of all who had to labor for their bread (hear, hear). The reverend gentleman (Mr. Bonner) who preceded him had designated the Commissioners, about whom the terrible difficulty had arisen, worthless individuals; perhaps he (Mr. Thompson) might be permitted to afford the meeting an opportunity of judging for itself how richly they deserved the title, by relating a few of their antecedents.

A VOICE—Never mind them, how about the insult?

Mr. THOMPSON (pausing and looking deliberately at the interrupter)—there has been no insult proved yet (loud cheers). There can be no insult where none is intended (renewed cheers). There was no insult, as was popularly supposed, in the act of firing across the bows of the Trent, and if there was a nautical man in the room he would know that statement to be correct (hear, hear). The only error committed was in taking the four persons out of the Trent instead of not carrying her into some port, a proceeding which would have caused much more inconvenience to the vessel than what had actually been done (cheers). Now about these Southern Commissioners (hear, hear, and cheers). Of Mr. Slidell he should say little more than that he was a slaveholder, and had long been a secessionist. Of Mr. Mason he should speak a little more fully. The name of Mr. Mason would go down to posterity steeped in infamy, as the author of the execrable and infernal Fugitive Slave law—a law which spread the widest distress, the wildest dismay, as well as unutterable sorrow throughout all the free States of America. If ever a man's memory should be doomed to be heaped with curses, it would be the memory of the man who made it punishable with imprisonment and a fine of $1,000 to give a cup of cold water to a panting, flying fugitive from the hell of American slavery. It was a law so execrable that it was found utterly impracticable to work it. So great a failure was it that twelve fugitives were all that could be recovered from the Northern States. With all the eloquence of their best men they could not get Sims out of Boston until the militia were paraded, and the Court-house surrounded with chains, and not even then would his rendition have been accomplished if it had not been for the interference of the friends of peace (hear, hear). On the 14th of March, 1854, Mason was in the Senate of the United States, when Edward Everett, the Senator from Massachusetts, presented a memorial signed by 3,000 ministers of religion in New England, solemnly protesting, in the name of Almighty God, against the Nebraska Bill for the repeal of existing legal prohibitions of slavery in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. This same Mason moved "that the memorial be not received," and this he said he did "without any disrespect to the cloth, which, to say the least, the memorialists did not grace." Mr. Seward nobly vindicated the memorial, and did justice to those who had signed it (hear, hear). Mr. Mason was the man who catechised the gallant veteran John Brown, for three hours, when he lay bound, wounded and bleeding (shame). It was he who moved for and obtained an inquisitorial and unconstitutional committee of the Senate to bring to its bar every man who was suspected of knowing anything of John Brown. This was the man whom the slaveholders of the South had chosen as their chief commissioner to the government of England! a fit representative he was of his imbruted masters (hear, hear). The resolution expressed satisfaction and thankfulness at their escape from the anticipated war with America, which would have involved this country in a recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and would have made us practically the allies of the South, diverting the North from carrying out their present plans, a result which would have been fraught with unspeakable calamities to the slave population. The international conflict now raging in the States was a war for the extinction of slavery, and if you travelled from the batteries which fortified New York to the farthest confines of Minnesota or Kansas, one feeling alone would be found upon the subject. He, however, had an idea that the honor of emancipating the slaves would not be for the North, for he had a very confident idea that in two or three weeks the Northern troops would be in New Orleans, the South would be surrounded, and partly by this effect the freedom of the colored race would be accomplished, not, however, by the direct act of the North, but by the act of their owners. Mr. Thompson, after paying a high tribute to the noble band of Abolitionists who had for so long steadfastly and earnestly upheld the banner of universal freedom, said that for years the North had been speaking the language of the South—not what they believed, but what they considered expedient, therefore they had not now to be instructed in the principles of abolition, and now that the South was gone from them, and they were no longer under the influence of the Slave Power, the North almost unanimously acknowledged anti-slavery opinions (hear). A war with America would have retarded indefinitely the abolition of slavery, and would perhaps have enabled the South to put in execution their cherished scheme of reopening the slave trade, without which their plans would never be complete. *The Times* had declared that the United States was ruled by a mob, and that if the mob clamored for war the American government would never be able to stand against it, but the intelligence over which they were rejoicing gave the lie to that statement. *The Times* had stigmatized the citizens of America as a mob. He and Mr. Matthews knew something about America, and they would say the Americans were not a mob; at any rate, if they were, and it were not for the cankerworm of slavery, the mob of this country might gain a great deal from free trade with the mob of that country (cheers). Having spoken favorably of the character of the American people generally, Mr. Thompson proceeded to make some laughable remarks upon the stock jobbing efforts of a portion of the London press in connection with the anticipated war. He stated that one fine morning *The Post* came out with the information that the Europa had arrived and brought no news, a circumstance which it declared to be unfavorable to peace. Down went the stocks in the city; so the timid sold and the knowing ones bought. A few hours after, out comes the information that the Americans had acceded to our requests—up went the stocks, timid ones bought again, the knowing ones sold, and went home to dinner with their pockets full (laughter and cheers). Mr. Thompson next referred to the enormous expense to which the government had put the country in anticipation of a war with America. A short time ago, we had been forced to pay for large fortifications under the fear that Napoleon was going to invade us, and the noble lord at the head of the government had pictured that potentate with his right hand extended to us in friendship, and his left upon the hilt of his sword. But we had forgotten all about Napoleon now (laughter and cheers). Oh let us be wise! Let us throw away the nettle danger and pluck the flower safety. Let us hope that the hour of peril is past, and the halcyon day of peace has come, and may every honest heart endeavor to perpetuate it. (Mr. Thompson concluded his eloquent speech amid tremendous applause.)

Extract from Mr. Twelvetrees' Speech.

The magnanimous decision of the American government for a peaceful settlement has arrived—a decision which has made the heart of England beat with the greatest enthusiasm and delight; a decision for peace—notwithstanding the slandering, taunting and insulting tone of a base and venal portion of the press of this country against the American government and people, and the attempts made to inflame the fevered blood of American citizens, by boasting of our ability to sweep the ocean of their fleet, and dash in pieces their last hopes of reconstructing the Union. The Federal government has taught the world a splendid lesson, and has acted a noble part (hear, hear). Subjected to one of the severest trials possible for a sensitive Cabinet to undergo, it has the courage to act with propriety, dignity, and prudence; to mark its conduct with good sense and good feeling, and do what is right and just in the face of passion, and against the pressure of immense popular excitement. At the risk of being taunted with cowardice, the Americans have proved themselves to be no cowards, by frankly acknowledging themselves to be in the wrong, and expressing their willingness in the face of all the world to repair the error of their impulsive servant, by surrendering the Commissioners who have fallen into their hands.

Extract from Mr. Noble's Speech.

Mr. Noble referred to the question of negro slavery, and said there were some people who thought that public opinion had gone back upon this subject. He believed the true cause of public gratification at this happy termination of the American difficulty arose out of the repugnance which every Englishman would feel to anything which even looked like association with the slaveholding Southern Confederacy (loud cheers). He repudiated the idea which had been disseminated, that the friends of peace and arbitration were at any time the cause of the war. He stigmatized the articles in *The Times* as grossly unpatriotic, and declared that if it were not for the secrecy in which their names were shrouded the writers would have been ashamed to publish them (cheers). There was, however, a certain portion of the press which had nobly done its duty during the crisis. *The Morning Star* and *The Daily News* had unflinchingly maintained the highest ground upon the question, but he had regretted to say they were the only daily papers which had done so; it was, however, with the weekly papers that the true expression of public opinion lay. In the language of the local and provincial journals was to be found the sentiment of the country, and throughout England these papers had, he was happy to say, acted with consistency and moderation (cheers).

Extract from the Rev. W. H. Bonner's Speech.

It was a pity that there had been such a promptitude to take a harsh view of the case. It was not dignified to be so quick to resent an insult. What some people designated pluck, he called bull-dog-ism (laughter). He felt much pleased with the course which had been taken by the Christian ministers of all denominations, upon this perplexed question (hear, hear). He feared, however, that the influences of the international war in America upon the supply of cotton, created in the cotton manufacturing districts a tendency towards a sympathy with the pro-slavery Confederates of the South. In his opinion the South had no claim to the sympathy of England (cheers). He thought that every man in this country should lift up his heart, his hand, and voice against the recognition of the South until they acknowledged the great principle that "all men are created free and equal." They transgressed that law and trampled the image of God under their feet, and all Christian nations should therefore protest against the recognition of the South. He trusted, heart and soul, that the Confederates would never gain their object (hear). If we had gone to war with the North, what would have been the aspect of affairs? Why, it would have been very like assisting the South; at any rate it would have had the same effect (hear, hear). The North were not, themselves, all that he could wish, but they did not recognize the justice of, and uphold slavery. He, however, wished that they were avowedly contending against it.

[*The Tower Hamlets Express*, speaking of the meeting says:]

We need not draw special attention to the names of the many gentlemen of local influence who figured upon the platform, but we may express the hope that a meeting so important in its character, and so unanimous in its enthusiasm, may not be without its good results. In our opinion it behooves all boroughs, towns, and cities throughout the United Kingdom, where peace and patriotism are held dear, to follow the example which the Tower Hamlets has so nobly set. Especially should the people of England be unanimous in the expression of their cordial approval of the high-minded conduct of the Washington government, by which an accursed war has been prevented; and in their repudiation of all sympathy with the worthless objects upon which so much anxious time has been spent. Let the patriotism and liberty-loving spirit of England receive with marked coolness the emissaries of slavery and rebellion whenever they shall touch our shores. Let Messrs. Mason and Slidell be shown that it was no sympathy with their unconstitutional and unrecognized commission that prompted the Cabinet of England to demand their restitution. Let them not imagine that what was done for England's honor was done in honor of them. Above all let them receive, in the stolid countenances and cold expressions of English citizens, the assurance that their mission here is as certain of failure, as it is indubitable that, though the flag to whose protecting power they have been restored

"May sink with a shot torn wreck,
It will never float o'er a slave."

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

ANOMALIES.

BY CAROLINE A. MASON.

The North is armed, but it is an armed neutrality, rather than an armed crusade; it is marshalled in array of battle, but not for the extermination of its foe. The South is in arms that slavery may be perpetuated; the North is in arms, determined that slavery shall not be injured; two great armies diligently guarding the one stupendous wrong of the earth; two great armies of countrymen carefully guarding the dragon that has stung them both into fratricidal madness, and will sting them both to death.—*Rev. O. B. Frothingham's Sermon, "The Year's Record of Sadness and Gladness."*

Two armies drawn up in battle array,
Both fighting for slavery—each in its way!

Two Governments—hostile, but both agreed
Of all the trouble to save the seed!

A War that has festered nine months or more,
And nobody daring to touch the sore!

A thousand remedies all applied,
And the only true one left untried!

Merciful Heaven! Is the Nation mad?
Or—truth more terrible yet, and sad—

Has God departed and left us still
To follow the bent of our own wild will?

To work out, under His wrathful eyes,
Our fearful measure of wrong and lies?

Oh, for some Prophet, with burning word,
Straight from the presence of the Lord,

To thunder the truth in our guilty ears,
That God has been whispering us for years:—

"Hear, oh People; the Lord has spoke!
Loose each shackle and break each yoke.

"Let my oppress and my poor go free;
The voice of their sighing has come to me.

"Not oblations and altar-fires,
Mercy and Justice my Hand requires.

"Mercy and Justice; as I am true,
As ye give others, I give to you."

Fitchburg, Mass.

THE RECEPTION OF MASON AND SLIDELL IN ENGLAND.

From The London Times.

How, then, are we to receive these illustrious visitors? Of course, they will be stared at, and followed, and photographed, and made the subject of paragraphs. There is no help for that. Mr. Thomas Sayers cannot walk the streets with a friend, or ask the Mayor for permission to put up a booth in a market-place, but the crowd immediately conclude the rough, hard-visaged, ill-favored pair to be the Confederate Commissioners. Messrs. Mason and Slidell, with their two Secretaries, though not so handsome and graceful as their countryman Blondin, would certainly fill the Crystal Palace if they proposed to address the visitors there on the merits of their cause. But, for the benefit of the discriminating—for the guidance of the minority that prefers at least a respectable idol, and that does not wish to throw away its confidence and applause, we may as well observe that Messrs. Mason and Slidell are about the most worthless booty it would be possible to extract from the jaws of the American lion.

They have long been known as the blind and habitual haters and revilers of this country. They have done more than any other men to get up the insane prejudice against England which disgraces the morality and disorders the policy of the Union. The hatred of this country has been their stock in trade. On this they have earned their political livelihood and won their position, just as there are others who pander to the lower passions of humanity. A diligent use of this bad capital has made them what they are, and raised them to the rank of Commissioners. It is through their life-long hatred and abuse of England that they come here in their present conspicuous capacity.

The nation under whose flag they sought a safe passage across the Atlantic—the nation that has now rescued them with all her might from the certainty of a dungeon and the chances of retaliatory murder, is that against which they have always done their best to exasperate their countrymen. Had they perished in the cell or on the scaffold, amid the triumphant yells of the multitude, memory would have suggested that their own bitter tirades had raised the storm, and that their death was only the natural and logical conclusion of their own calumnies and sophistries.

So we do sincerely hope that our countrymen will not give these fellows anything in the shape of an ovation. The civility that is due to a foe in distress is all that they can claim. We have returned them good for evil, and, sooth to say, we should be exceedingly sorry that they should ever be in a situation to choose what return they will make for the good we have now done them. They are here for their own interest, in order, if possible, to drag us into their own quarrel, and, but for the unpleasant contingencies of a prison, rather disappointed, perhaps, that their detention has not provoked a new war. When they stepped on board the Trent, they did not trouble themselves with the thought of the mischief they might be doing an unoffending neutral; and if now, by any less perilous device, they could entangle us in the war, no doubt they would be only too happy.

We trust there is no chance of their doing this, for, impartial as the British public is in the matter, it certainly has no prejudice in favor of slavery, which, if anything, these gentlemen represent. What they and their Secretaries are to do here passes our conjecture. They are, personally, nothing to us. They must not suppose, because we have gone to the very verge of a great war to rescue them, that therefore they are precious in our eyes. We should have done just as much to rescue two of their own negroes, and, had that been the object of the rescue, the swarthy Pompey and Cæsar would have had just the same right to triumphal arches and municipal addresses as Messrs. Mason and Slidell. So, please, British public, let's have none of these things.

Let the Commissioners come up quietly to town, and have their say with anybody who may have time to listen to them. For our part, we cannot see how anything they have to tell can turn the scale of British duty and deliberation. There have been so many cases of peoples and nations establishing an actual independence, and compelling the recognition of the world, that all we have to do is what we have done before, up to the very last year. This is now a simple matter of precedent. Our statesmen and lawyers know quite as much on the subject as Messrs. Mason and Slidell, and are in no need of their information or advice.

From The London Daily News.

The impudence of sending Commissioners to us at all is remarkable; and the audacity of appointing Mr. Mason is really astounding. It was bad enough, sending Mr. Yancey, after the publication of what he said and wrote in the conventions of the slave States; it was a strong demand on our liberality and courtesy to send here as envoy a man who had publicly eulogized slavery as the proper basis of society, and demanded the reopening of the African slave trade; and Mr. Yancey's doubtful reception at a public dinner where his presence was by no means desired, might show the Confederate authorities that it would be well not to encroach too far on the instincts of our hospitality. But to send Mr. Mason is a yet more daring proceeding. They must have supposed that we either did or did not know that Mr. Mason is the author of the worst law that is on the statute book of any civilized nation—the Fugitive Slave law. If we did not know it, it was taking advantage of our ignorance to seek our friendship and good offices through such an agent; and, if we did know it, it was an insult to English feelings to place that man face to face with us at all. The worst consequence to us of Capt. Wilkes's troublesome escapade is its having compelled us to act as protectors to the man who has traduced our state of society, cast contempt on the working class of every country, declared us incapable of freedom because we give and take the rights of industry through the whole range of our society, and created the machinery of law by which 20,000,000 of free citizens were made the kidnappers of the slaves of half a million; by which the brave and strong negroes who had escaped were delivered back to the whip and the chain, and the passions of their tyrants. When these elect gentlemen, sent to represent Southern society here, appear among us, we must make sure that everybody knows how they regard themselves and us. They think it low to work, or to pay others for working for them. They think that political freedom means a very few persons doing what they please with all the rest of society. They think it is a low state of civilization when members of society enjoy, as nearly as may be, the benefits they earn by intelligence or toil; and they extol as the highest refinement the scheme by which the smallest number take possession of the largest share of the earnings of others. Old England and New England are alike in a vulgar and pitiable condition, because every man is theoretically a worker, or the payer of other men's work, and because every individual has an interest in the common weal; yet the superfine gentry who so regard Old and New England are trying to gain over the one against the other by soft words and sordid inducements, and these men are the agents sent to rouse our minds against our free kindred of the Northern States, and to soothe our selfish fears about cotton. Let them pass on one side. We have simply nothing to say to them. Let them pass on their way in the perfect safety of perfect neglect.

FRIENDLY WORDS FROM ENGLAND.

From The London Star, Jan. 10.

THE Federal government of America has read a lesson to kings. It has acted in a spirit worthy of even its earliest and freshest days, when the impulse of new liberty was still a passion and a religion. Placed in a position of the uttermost danger, it has not lost courage or composure; tried by the strongest temptation it has not swerved from the right. In surrendering the Confederate Commissioners on the ground that the "government cannot deny the justice of England's claim," the President of America has done an act of true courage, which would, if such an addition were possible, have added new dignity even to the career of a Washington.

If this be the act of a mob government, then mobs must sometimes reach to a nobleness and a spirit of justice sadly uncommon in the history of governments by princes and peers. The Federal government was subjected to one of the severest trials possible for the ruling power of a brave and sensitive people to undergo. The statesmen of the Washington Cabinet were at once summoned to surrender on pain of instant war, and taunted with cowardice in the event of their compliance. How hard it is to see the justice of a demand which is urged by one who claps a pistol to your head! How much harder still if we are told that refusing to yield we shall be instantly shot!—yielding we shall be branded as baffled cowards!

Are there not many men, high-minded and full of honorable principle—are there not many governments ordinarily straightforward and just—who would rather risk all than submit to such a demand, who would become incapable of recognizing the justice of any claim sustained in such a manner? It is impossible to deny that it was in this tone the utterances of that which too many believe to be English public opinion echoed across the Atlantic into the ears of the Federal government. That government has taught the world a splendid lesson. It has been just, and feared not. It feared not even the imputation of yielding to force what it would fain have denied right.

Calmly, in the midst of immense popular excitement all around; passionless, despite the insults and the taunts which every new packet brought from London, the Federal government considered the question, decided, and, in the face of the world, repaired the error of its zealous and impulsive servant. The foundation of the United States was welcomed as the first grand recognition of human freedom as the central principle of government. May not this latest act of the United States be welcomed as the first great acknowledgment of the principles of justice in the guidance of international diplomacy?

From The London Daily News, Jan. 10.

Until now, *The Times* cherished toward the American government only the peculiar animosity which naturally springs from the consciousness of having wantonly and systematically wronged it. But since the Federal Cabinet has refused to justify in any way its outrageous calumnies, or even to afford it any pretext for fresh insults, our unfortunate and ill-used cotemporary is almost beside himself with rage and vexation.

While, however, we may smile at the sudden confusion thus wrought, and pity the imbecile efforts at revenge, it becomes no less a duty to expose them. The difficulty, which is now happily terminated, will no doubt still affect our relations with America, and frankness and courtesy in the intercourse with the two peoples and the two governments will be more needful than ever. It is important, therefore, that no journal of reputed influence or authority in this country should be allowed to outrage the American government with impunity.

We do not hesitate to say that *The Times* of yesterday does this in the grossest and most malignant manner. It repeats in the most offensive form an accusation never supported by any evidence, and which is now shown to all the world to be utterly without foundation—that the Federal government had grossly insulted this country. It asserts broadly that "the government of the Federal States had done in mere wantonness what no nation of the Old World had ever dared to do—invaded our political asylum, and insulted our flag." It is time that such statements as these should be called by their right name. They are deliberate and malignant falsehoods. And the falsehood is as clumsy and stupid as it is willful and malicious.

We have received no insult at all, as all the world is aware by this time. Every schoolboy knows the essential difference between a violent act and an insult. Capt. Wilkes has not insulted us, because in his blundering extempore study of the law books he honestly thought he was justified by international usage. And assuredly the American government has not insulted us, or shown the least disposition to do so. It has never attempted in any way to accept or justify Capt. Wilkes's violent act. On the contrary, soon after the arrival of the rebel Commissioners at New York, Mr. Seward voluntarily sent off a dispatch to Mr. Adams, stating that Capt. Wilkes acted without instructions, and assuring the English government of the friendly feeling and disposition of the Federal Cabinet. And as soon as reparation was demanded, it was made not only in a frank and honorable manner, but in a thoroughly friendly spirit.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

THE SLAVE MOTHER AT CHRISTMAS.

THE Afric mother, sinking her savage nature,
Decks her mean hut with boughs of freshest green;
And for her wild tribe, to the least dark creature
Remembers in the field some gift to glean.

The spotted ear of corn, the feathers gay,
Lost by the birds that o'er her hut have flown;
All poor rude nothings, but the Christmas day
Adorns them with a splendor all its own.

And all of dainty that she hath: to eat
In the long year is kept against this day;
For yellow meal, the wheaten loaf and meat,
She this one season on her board may lay.

But, with that faith exalting all her race,
She worships truly whom she dares to trust:
The heart's right instinct brings her Father's face
As near to her as any child of dust.

O! men and women in your homes to-night
Made joyous with your gifts so rich and rare,
This woman waits for liberty and right,
And asks you only for her common share. E. C. S.

PATRIOTISM WITHOUT LIBERTY.

WHEN the celebrated Committee made the celebrated offer of five hundred dollars to call from the vasty deep of lyrical patriotism a strain, words and air, and limited the temper of the production to a Union Hymn in sentiment equally acceptable to all parts of the country, we prophesied that the offer would produce nothing, by the law that from nothing comes nothing, and that thus to shut the door against Liberty, to interdict Emancipation from contributing her star-coursing music, was to invite defeat and imbecility. The result was, of course, as we said. We are moved to make this allusion from seeing a clever foreign criticism on Mr. Richard Grant White's interesting little work on National Hymns, published apropos of the contributions to that impossible requisition. The critic in *The London Spectator*, not knowing that the Committee strangled the feeble chance of a decent hymn being offered, by calling for soft sawder for all portions of the Union, truly says, in the course of some remarks:

"Nor would we sneer at any true and noble feeling, but the truth is, in all the grandeur of words sown broadcast through these tentative national songs, we can detect scarcely a spark of the one profound feeling which ought to have inspired such a hymn at such a time—*no hatred of slavery, no generous desire to wipe from the Union the black stain which had so long disfigured it; nothing but the conventional sentiment of Federal magnificence—the gigantesque jumble of stars-and-stripes-and-hail-Columbia-spread-eagle-ism. This literary class is not the true backbone of the American nation. It is not they who will yet save the country.*"

This, to our shame be it said, is noble criticism. It should be heeded—*Tribune.*

THE ORATOR OF FREEDOM.

From The Jersey (Eng.) Independent, Oct. 26, 1861.

AFTER the wretched exhibitions of prejudice and downright ignorance on the American question made by the great majority of English members of Parliament addressing their constituents—we except Mr. Forster, the member from Bradford, and two or three more—it is a relief, a pleasure and a delight, to turn to the magnificent oration of Senator Sumner, the distinguished son of Massachusetts, which we give in today's *Independent*. As a general rule even those who like to listen to good speeches do not care to read long speeches, good or bad. But even such persons need not our recommendation to give their attention to the graceful periods and electrifying appeals of, probably, the most accomplished of American speakers; perhaps we might justly say the foremost orator speaking the Anglo-Saxon tongue; for, rivalling Gladstone in genius, he more than rivals the glory of England's House of Commons by that holy earnestness which imparts to eloquence its chief effect, and which naturally is the product of circumstances rather than of individual will. Mr. Sumner is world-famed, and for himself personally the most sincere sympathy has been felt in England from the time that he was so treacherously and brutally assaulted by the ruffian Brooks, an atrocity premonitory of the treason and ferocity which commenced with the conspiracy of President Buchanan's Ministers and the subsequent rebel bombardment of Fort Sumter. The principles of the Massachusetts Senator command our thorough adhesion, as his extraordinary talents challenge our admiration, and his courageous consistency carries with it our respect.

We feel confident that, had we sat in the Worcester Convention, the orator would have commanded our vote as well as our applause. Yet his oration, exciting indescribable enthusiasm, did not carry with it the vote of the assembly. The majority shrunk from the tremendous consequences involved in the carrying out of Mr. Sumner's straightforward programme. As we have not the speeches of the opposing orators before us, we will not do them the injustice of passing judgment on the vote they influenced. Had we space at command, which we have not, we would recite and admit the force of the anxious considerations swaying the minds of those who, like the government at Washington and the majority in the Worcester Convention, shrink from the course of ultimate safety through present peril pointed out by the Massachusetts Senator. But although we can make every allowance for President Lincoln and his Ministers, and those Massachusetts men who hesitate to invoke the sword of Spartacus, still, we repeat, all our sympathies are with Mr. Sumner, the cause of which he is the champion, and the policy of which he is the exponent. Although grammarians will not allow the comparative and superlative of "right," and know nothing of "righter" and "rightest," we must nevertheless affirm that Gen. Butler was right, Gen. Fremont *more* right, and that Senator Sumner is *most* right. We have not space at present to follow up this theme, but must conclude by urging all to read the brilliant speech preceding these few remarks, an oration truly worthy of

"The holiest cause that tongue or sword
Of mortal ever lost or gained."

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

CHOOSE YE!

"If the Lord be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him."—1 *Kings, xviii.*, 21.

THOUGH the trampling of armies shake the ground,
The hills to their cannon-peals resound,
And the vollied muskets rattle,
If the trumpet give an uncertain sound,
Who shall prepare for battle?

Is it only a name for which ye fight?
For a tattered flag? or the deathless Right
Of humanity torn by traitors,
Where a million hands would eagerly smite
For the dauntless liberators?

To Freedom or Slavery, trumpeter, blow!
Let him who would draw the falchion know
If the fight be for God or the devil;
All ye who are foes of the traitors' foe,
The nations count at his level.

Will ye break the bonds that fatally cramp
The freeman's arm, and to ashes stamp
The root of your bloody quarrel?
Or, with Achan's plunder in your camp,
See wither your every laurel?

The sturdy rebel is open and frank,
He means the chain, and you hear it clank,
As he shakes the fist of defiance;
If *we*, too, mean it, our hands are rank
With his treason's dark alliance!

We give him bread, and the hardy nerve
Of a million arms in his cause to serve,
While we leave the slave to his master;
Strengthening the foe, shall we more deserve
Proud victory or disaster?

Under which King, then? speak or die!
For one is supreme, and, throned on high,
Works darkly over our shoulder,
His word and His hour no man puts by;
Ye must serve Him as *clay* or moulder.

His law strikes under the nether ground,
And stretches over the skies' blue mound
With the scales of a just liberation;
His trump gives forever a *certain* sound:
Woe, woe, to the guilty nation!

GEORGE. S. BURLEIGH.

WILLINGNESS OF THE CONTRABANDS TO LABOR.

Correspondence of The New York Times.

HILTON HEAD, S. C., Jan. 19.

THE negroes here had to be found and organized into gangs for working. To their credit I can say, without qualification, that they labor willingly and satisfactorily—far better than any reasonable man could have supposed, when the fact of their having just been released from the driver's lash is taken into consideration. There are as many as 3,000 of them—women as well as men—now employed under Col. Reynolds in picking cotton, bagging it, and carrying it from the plantations to the boats which bring it to Hilton Head. The plan has been adopted of paying them according to the amount of work which they perform, and it operates well. A healthy emulation is excited, which proves far more effectual in making them industrious than the dread of a hundred lashes, and every good man must feel encouraged at the evidence which this single fact affords that even South Carolina negroes of this generation are not so brutalized as to be beyond reclamation. For myself, I cannot believe, after what I have seen of these despised creatures, that they have sunk so low in the scale of humanity that it would be impossible to elevate them by appealing to their moral sense, notwithstanding the cheap cant and increasing whines respecting their ignorance, laziness and worthlessness.

I am glad that Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, feeling the magnitude of the question respecting the treatment of these slaves, whom the war has thrown upon the protection of the government, has at last sent here to inquire into their condition. Mr. Edward C. Pierce, of Boston, came down on the Baltic, commissioned, as I understand it, to look after their interests. He is a gentleman of enlarged views, much experience of the negro character, and possesses an earnest, philanthropic desire to devise some plan which shall meet the requirements of their case. From a short conversation with him, I was impressed with the idea that he brings to his work the right spirit, and I hope that his investigations will result in giving the government a basis upon which to erect a sound policy. There are now about 8,000 negroes upon the islands which are held by our forces, and not more than one-seventh of this number are supported and gain a livelihood in the camps. The remainder prefer living upon the plantations where they exist as best they may. When we first came here the larger portions of the corn and potato crops were taken possession of by regimental foraging parties, and the negroes were thereby deprived of this means of subsistence. Soon, if they remain where they are, hunger will compel them to apply at the camps for supplies, as it is not probable that they will go back to their fugitive masters for relief. Therefore it is that the urgency of the case demands a plan on the part of the government for their employment and subsistence. Why not use them in cultivating cotton? Already the season has come for preparing the fields for the planting of the seed in March and April, and, as I have already stated, under proper direction, there can be no question respecting their readiness to work. To my mind this project seems worthy of a trial.

From another correspondent.

I am constantly hearing and seeing new instances of the anxiety of the negroes here to assist the Yankees. The other day an old fellow taken aboard one of the vessels was overheard praying vigorously that "de Lord would bress *these d—d Yankees.*" Poor Sambo had never heard us designated in any other way, and gave the entire title in his prayer. They do more than pray, however. Every day or two, some are asking to be allowed to fight. At Edisto, recently, the blacks have in repeated instances brought in their captive masters to our forces, and again and again individuals have asked for arms. I have had frequent assurances of such facts from officers in command of reconnoitering parties both of the army and navy. One of the former has told me that a negro under his command snatched a musket from one of the troops and fired at a flying rebel. Another said that a black man exclaimed to him, "Massa, you only give us bowie-knife and guns, and we *shot* fast enough." These may not be representative incidents; I hardly incline to think they are. But I certainly hear more such stories than a month ago.

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